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*A Thousand Years
of Jewish History*

From the Days of Alexander the Great
To the Moslem Conquest of Spain

WITH TWO MAPS

BY THE
REV. MAURICE H. HARRIS, A.M., Ph.D.
Author of "People of the Book,"
"Selected Addresses," etc.

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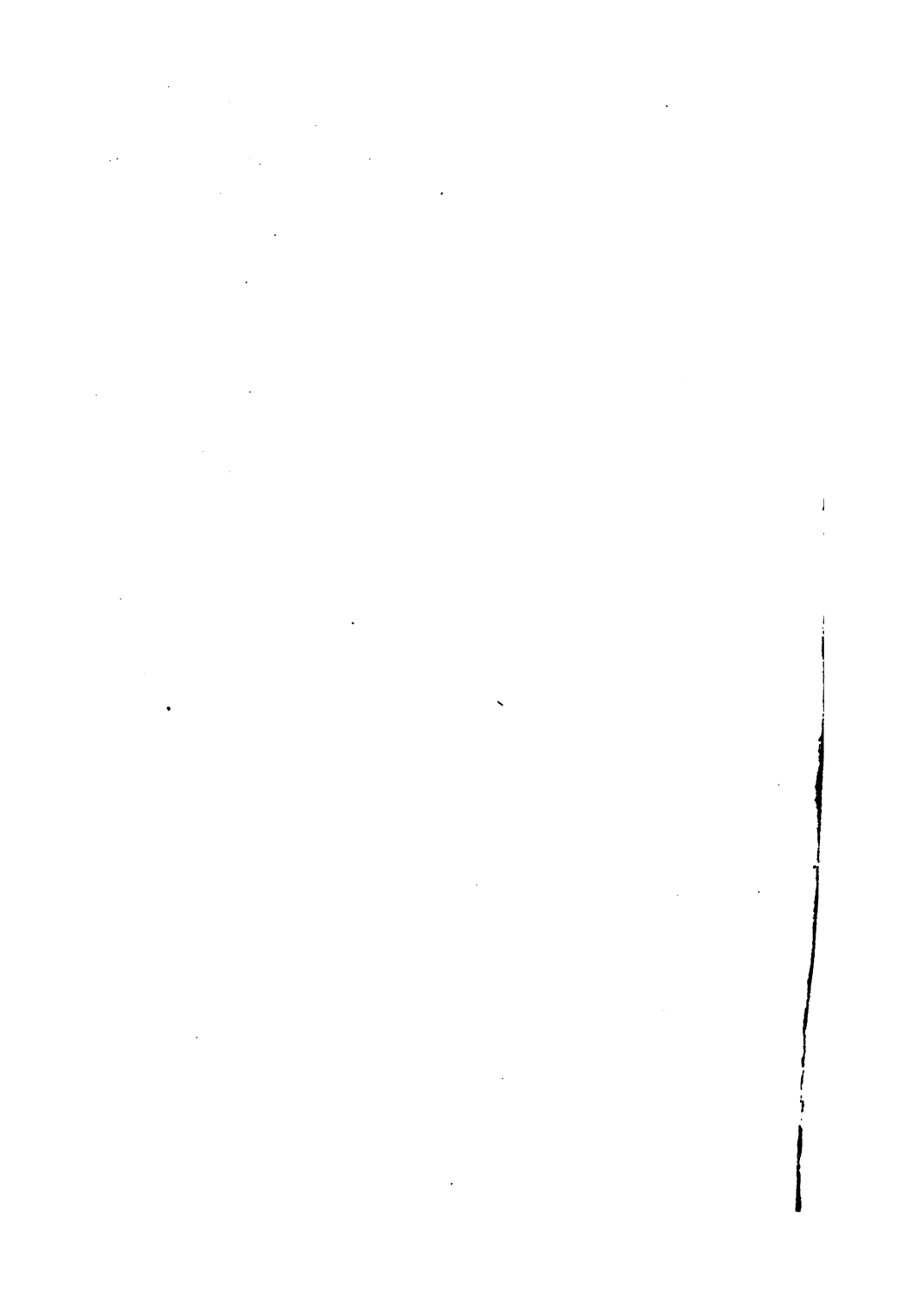
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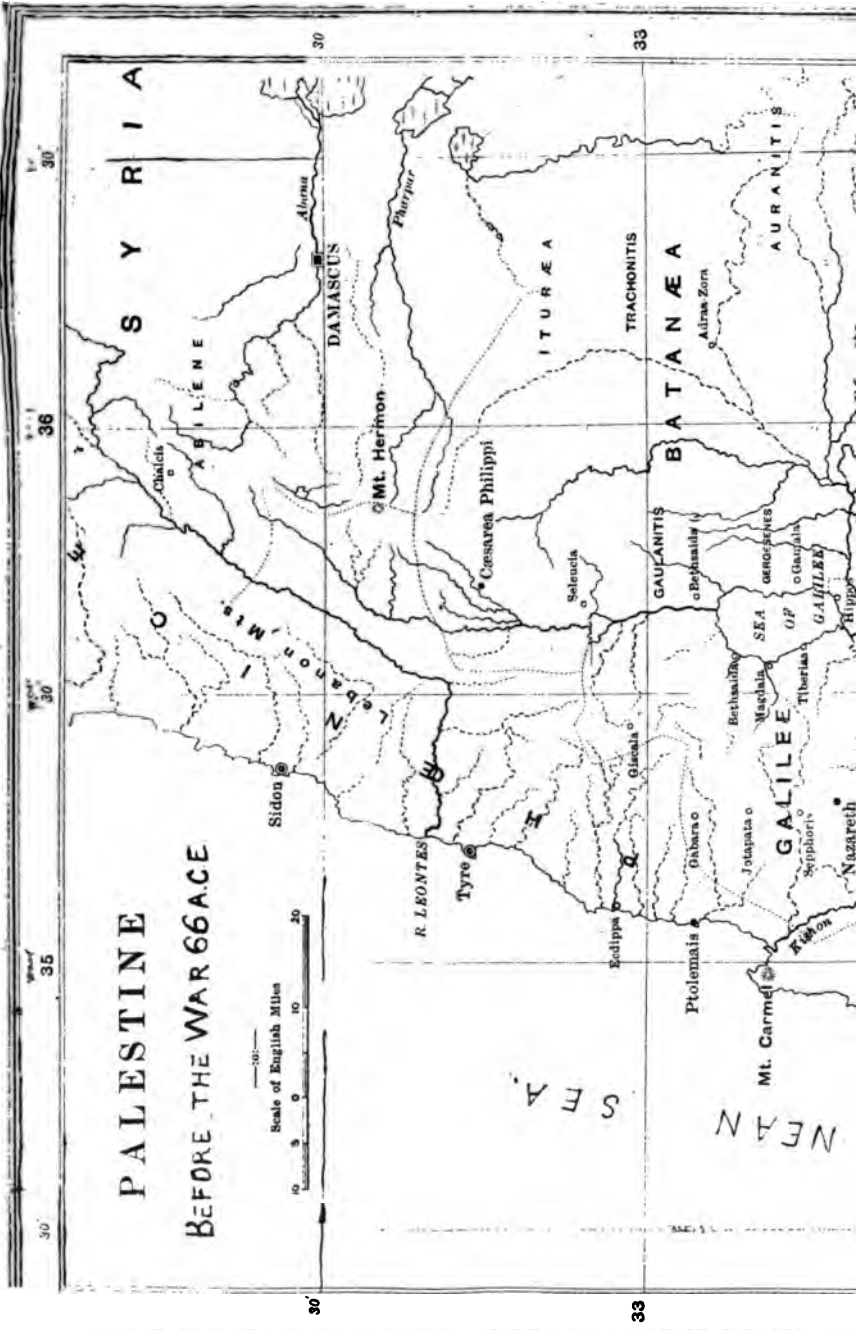
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To my dear grand-daughter
Zelda

from your loving grandpa
W.M.

March 20, 1915





**PALESTINE
BEFORE THE WAR 66 A.C.E.**

Scale of English Miles
0 5 10 20 30

S Y R I A

L E B A N O N M T S

D A M A S C U S

I T U R Æ A

T R A C H O N I T I S

B A T T A N Æ A

A U R A N I T I S

Mt. Hermon

Cesarea Philippi

Selucia

G A U L A N I T I S

PERJANITA

GENOCRETES

GAULANA

HIPPUS

Sidon

Tyre

R. LEONTES

Esdippa

Ptolemais

Iotapata

Sepphoris

Nazareth

Mt. Carmel

SEPHARAIM

NEAN

S E A

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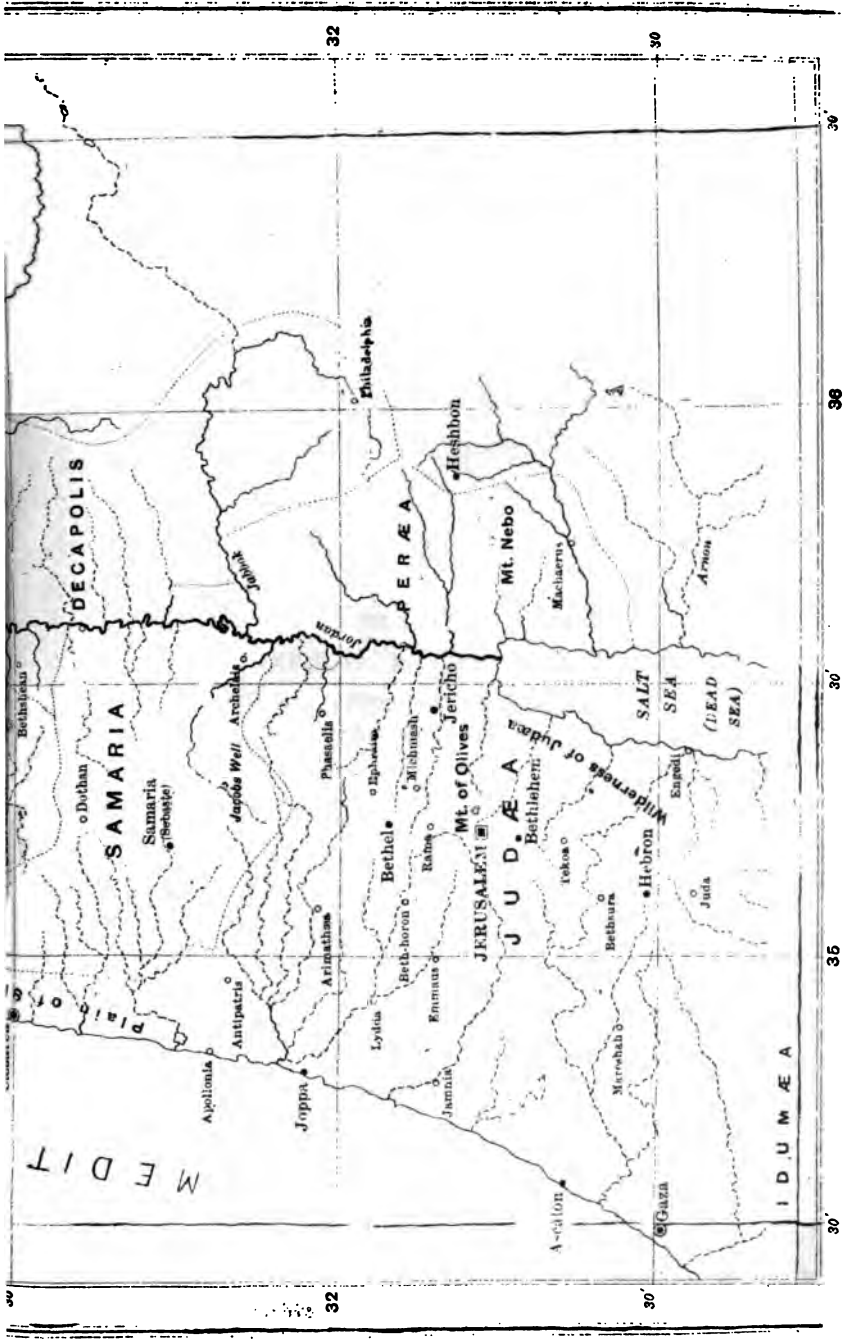
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MEDIT

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IDUMAEA

DECAPOLIS

SAMARIA

PERAEA

JUDEA

JERUSALEM

SALT SEA

DEAD SEA

Mt. of Olives

Bethlehem

Jericho

Bethel

Hebron

Bethsura

Ennau

Beth-horon

Lydus

Jamnia

Joppa

Antipatris

Apolonia

Beit-shean

Beit-saida

Wilderneis of Judaea

Juda

En-gedi

Beit-hanani

Beit-lehem

Beit-saida

Beit-horon

Beit-saida

Beit-saida

Beit-saida

Beit-saida

Beit-saida

Beit-saida

Beit-saida

Beit-saida

Beit-saida

Philadelpia

Heshbon

Mt. Nebo

Machaerus

Arnon

Jordan

Beit-saida

A Thousand Years of Jewish History

From the Days of Alexander the Great
To the Moslem Conquest of Spain

WITH TWO MAPS

BY THE

REV. MAURICE H. HARRIS, A.M., Ph.D

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FOREWORD

"If a literature is called rich in the possession of a few classic tragedies, what shall we say to a national tragedy lasting for fifteen hundred years in which the poets and the actors were also the heroes."
—ZUNZ

When the impatient youth demands, like the heathen from Hillel, a "definition" of Judaism, bid him "go and learn" the history of the Jew. Let him follow the fascinating story from hoar antiquity, when the obscure Hebrews, "leaving kindred and father's house," took a bold and new departure for the land that God would show—the land that would show God.

Point to the colossal figure of Moses on Sinai, "greatest of the prophets," who gave the first uplifting impulse with his Ten Words of Faith and Duty. Trace with him the soul struggle of this "smallest among the nations" to reach the truth of divinity—beginning with a crude conception that became steadily exalted and clarified with each successive age, until, at last, the idea is realized of an all-pervading Spirit, with "righteousness and justice as the pillars of His throne," and Whom "the heaven of heavens cannot contain."

Make clear to him how the revelation of the divine will came to be expressed in Law. And, how the preservation and development of this Law, in the interpreting hands of prophets, scribes, rabbis, poets and philosophers, became henceforth the controlling motif of the history of the Jew, his *modus vivendi*, whether under Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabians or Franks. Help him to see that through it the Jew held in his keeping the religious fate of Orient and

CHAPTER I.

CLOSE OF THE PERSIAN RULE.

PERSIA	JUDEA	FAMOUS CONTEMPORARIES
B.C.E.	B.C.E.	FLOURISHED B.C.E.
Cyrus conquers the Babylonians..... 536	Return of Judah from Exile..... 536	
Cambyses 529		
Darius..... 522		
	Second Temple rebuilt..... 516	
Xerxes..... 485	Esther and Mordecai 485	Gautama Buddha 500 Confucius..... 500
Artaxerxes I (Longimanus) 461		
	Ezra goes to Jerusalem 458	Socrates 450
	Nehemiah's first visit 445	
	Nehemiah Governor of Judea 432	
Darius II (Ochus) 424		
Artaxerxes II Mnemon ... 404		Xenophon..... 400
Artaxerxes III (Ochus)..... 358		
Alexander, the Greek, overthrows the Persian Empire.. 332	Judea subject to Greek rule... 332	

The story covered by the early dates in this table is not yet post-Biblical. It is already told in the later Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai and Zechariah (i-viii). The history of this volume begins with the close of the life-work of these men.

The restoration of the Jews to Judea did not materialize as gloriously as Isaiah in Babylon had prefigured

in his sublime addresses. (Isaiah xl-xlvi) Life's realizations very often disappoint their anticipations. Cyrus opened the door; but only a poor remnant returned to a poor land. Even then, enemies made their appearance, envious of the royal grant, and plotted against their welfare. So it took many years to rebuild the Temple and many more to rebuild Jerusalem and to reorganize a new community. This service we owe to Nehemiah.

After the chronicle of Nehemiah's service in placing the Jewish colony on a working basis, we are told hardly anything more of the doings of Israel in this epoch. Either there was no further history of the Jews under Persian sway, or it has never been told. There is a silence of about a hundred years. One reason for this silence of course, is that the Jews had no separate political life. What there is to tell can be disposed of in a few sentences.

We infer from the sixty-third chapter of Isaiah that they suffered during the campaigns of the two Artaxerxes against Egypt. We know that some were banished to the Caspian Sea because they were implicated in a wide-spread insurrection against the fast declining Persia, instigated by the different peoples settled around the Mediterranean shore. We are told further that an upstart named Bagoas heavily taxed the Jews and made the excuse of a quarrel over the priesthood, to desecrate their Temple.

That is really all. When this intriguer attempted to place his own candidate on the Persian throne the knell had been rung. Persia's days were numbered. Like its Babylonian predecessor, it had been "weighed

in the balance and found wanting." The Greek forces of Alexander were advancing and about the year 332 the Persian dynasty, founded by Cyrus—let us say the Great—passed away.

But silent though the period was in external doings, it was a stirring time in Israel from the point of view of the experience of the soul. When we turn to the religious life of the Jews, the epoch apparently so barren, is freighted with significance. Great achievements are here disclosed behind the historian's silence.

To tell the religious story, we must go back to Ezra again, Ezra was the father of the SCRIBES. A scribe was not merely, as the name might imply, one who copied the writings of others, but one who expounded them. The Pentateuch which contained many codes of law came to be called The Law as a whole. (Torah) We shall learn how later this term included the vaster code that was gradually deduced from the Biblical books. This is the age then of Legalism, when JUDAISM IS INTERPRETED AS LAW.

Without explaining just now the significance of presenting our religion through the medium of law, we can attribute the fact to the following causes: In ancient times Religion and State were one, so that patriotism merged into piety and treason into infidelity. Hence the Pentateuch contains laws touching the civil as well as spiritual relations, and regulated affairs both secular and sacred. For example, it contains laws about servants, agriculture, a war code, laws of poverty and inheritance, in fact every need that entered the civilization of the time. On the other hand, it contains the Decalogue, the festival regula-

tions, the Law of Holiness (Levit. xvii-xxvii), and exhortations to noble living. It is beautiful to notice how the moral pervades the secular and gives to all a sanctifying touch.

Thus the scribes of this latter day had to interpret Scripture for the daily affairs of public life as well as to regulate the festivals and the religious ceremonial in Israel's semi-independent state. So the Sanhedrin (a Greek word), a body of seventy members, was at once a House of Legislature and an ecclesiastical council. The precedent for the number 70 was found in the Council of Elders appointed by Moses (Exodus xxiv. When all political power was taken from the Jews, the presentation of religion through the forms of law very naturally survived.

There is yet another reason for Religion being interpreted as Law, which touches the genius of Judaism. It has always been less a Faith to be confessed than a Life to be lived. The emphasis was laid on deed rather than on dogma. So while the realm of duty was very strictly circumscribed, the realm of thought was remarkably free. We shall later see that it was on this very distinction that Christianity broke away from the parent religion to become a separate Faith. For Paul, its chief apostle and virtual founder was antinomistic, which means opposed to the obligations of Law, while he placed new emphasis on faith.

Of course, the reduction of Religion to Law had its abuses as well as its excellences. It led to the multiplication of ceremonial. (The laws of ritual cleanliness and of Sabbath restriction are very voluminous and very minute). This left less room for spontaneity of

action. Israel's detractors say it blurred the moral distinctions. This is a superficial and erroneous inference, for it quite as often reinforced them, preventing any temporizing with duty. At its best it tended to sanctify every act of life and to bring the humblest obligation into relationship with God. But whenever a religion crystallizes into an institution, as it inevitably must, the spirit occasionally gets lost in the form. Then it becomes the function of the prophet to bring back the emphasis to religion's vital issues.

A further word on the religious life of post-exilic Israel. We must remember at the start that it was a colony subject to Persia, but granted complete autonomy in the management of its internal affairs. The head of the community was the High Priest. He not only regulated all functions in the Temple (the religious centre), but exercised secular power as a temporal prince. That temporal power vested in the High Priest's hands was to cause Judah much woe later and became one of the causes of its downfall.

Distinct from the Temple, Houses of Prayer were springing up, called SYNAGOGUES. The Synagogue gradually developed a distinct ritual and Sabbath readings from the Pentateuch and the Prophets became a permanent institution.

The religious activities and conditions here described were not limited to the Persian era, but continued to the Greek period that immediately followed.

A word about the literature of this post-exilic epoch. The most important of the later Biblical books are ascribed to it, notably: Chronicles, the Five Scrolls,

some Psalms, and even Job. It was further the time of literary activity in editing Bible books already written and deducing new law from Scripture. But nothing appears now of the prophetic style of writing. Haggai, Zachariah and Malachi were the last, and already we miss the prophetic grandeur. The days of prophecy were over. There are no great names. Yet, under the title of "Men of the Great Synagogue," some noble masters of the Law contributed splendid service while renouncing all personal recognition.

A sacred collection accepted as books of authority on religious life is called the **CANON**, a Greek word meaning rule. It was a work of great responsibility. Nor was it completed at one time. Begun by the men of the Great Synagogue, its final completion was postponed until nearly a century after the Christian era.

The Bible books were placed in three groups—**LAW**, **PROPHETS**, **WRITINGS**. This sequence marked both the order of their production and the order of their importance.

The Law included the five books of the Pentateuch. *The Prophets* fell into two groups: *The Former Prophets* comprising the historic books from Joshua to Kings, illustrative of the divine guidance of Israel. *The Later Prophets* were the prophetic books proper—first, the three largest—Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel; then the twelve smaller prophetic books from Hosea to Malachi.

The third division, *Writings*, was a miscellaneous collection of scripture, some written very late indeed. They included Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the Five Scrolls (*Megilloth*), Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah and Chron-

icles. Some books were well weighed before being admitted into this sacred library. Some of those not chosen are doubtless lost. Some found their way into another collection known as the Apocrypha.

No, the post-exilic epoch was not a time of empty silence, but of tremendous activity. One of the most fruitful periods in our history.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Persian ideas unconsciously exercised their influence. Conception of future life and retribution beyond the grave was made more definite than in its earlier Biblical presentation. So too the belief in angels and evil spirits received further development. The Hebrew square characters now came to be used in place of the earlier form.

That Israel laid stress on creed is further proved by the late date of the formulation of any Articles of Faith. Even the Creeds of Maimonides (end of 11th Century) were drawn up rather to differentiate Judaism from Christianity and Mohammedanism than to explain its teachings to its own.

Read "*The Law and Recent Criticism*," in the eleventh volume of the "*Jewish Quarterly Review*" (London, Macmillan) in reply to a criticism against Judaism as Law; Montefiore, "*Bible for Home Reading*," vol ii, pages 12-18, on the Law; *Hibbert Lectures, 1892*, Montefiore, parts of Chapters vi and ix on the Scriptures. *Introduction Literature of the Old Testament*. Driver. (Scribner.)

CHAPTER II.

GREEK AND JEW.

The Greeks and the Jews have been the greatest contributors toward the higher civilization of mankind. Therefore we discern the hand of Providence in their meeting, for they influenced each other. The meeting of Greek and Jew is one of the great events of history, greater than many of the battles that have decided the fates of empires. Greece had already lived her most thrilling epoch when the meeting took place, but Plato, disciple of the moral philosopher, Socrates, had but recently passed away (347) and Aristotle, profoundest philosopher of antiquity, still lived.

Macedonia had absorbed the other Greek principalities and ALEXANDER, now sole master, carried his army eastward in the hope of founding a universal empire. Whenever he conquered a land, he colonized it with Greeks and thus spread Greek civilization. Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria, Phoenicia and ultimately Ethiopia and India fell successively before his triumphant approach. The Persian empire of Cyrus, that had been fast decaying, was included in the great array of conquests. Tired of the intriguing adventurer placed over them, the Jews gladly welcomed the conqueror. Legend weaves a pretty story of the Jewish High Priest, Onias going forth with a company clad in white to meet Alexander, and that in this picture he saw the fulfillment of a dream. It is certain that they hailed this change of masters. In this rise and fall of empires a new group-

ing of countries took place. Judea became part of Celo-Syria (hollow Syria), a province whose boundaries reached from Lebanon to Egypt. Higher Syria formed another province in the neighborhood of the Euphrates. Samaria, once the capital of northern Israel, was chosen as the seat of the governor. The rebellious Samaritans were quelled, and Alexander gave the intervening land to the Judeans to whom he further showed his favor by freeing them from taxation during the Sabbath year.

This broad minded conqueror was indeed a second Cyrus to the Jews, but there was no Isaiah now to hail his advent or to interpret his triumphant advance in terms of divine purpose. A further reason for his kindness to the Jews may be due to the fact that some already settled in many places outside Judea, became his guides and interpreters when he entered the unfamiliar realms of Asia.

All too soon, in the midst of his ambitions, Alexander died in the year 323. Conflict among his generals followed, and the great empire was dismembered. After many wars, in one of which the Jews showed their religious fidelity in submitting to slaughter rather than defend themselves on the Sabbath day, the empire was again divided into four kingdoms. They were the following: The Græco-Syrian, the Græco-Egyptian, the Thracian and the Macedonian. Græco-Syria, granted to Seleucus, included the greater part of Asia, with Persia as its centre. He introduced the Selencidean era named after him, later used by the Jews. This name too, came to be applied to the kingdom itself. Many Jews were invited to settle in the new capital—Antioch

on its Mediterranean border. The next kingdom fell to Ptolemy Lagos and included Egypt and the adjoining lands, one of which was Judea. So the Jews now came under the sway of the Ptolemaic regime. It will be well to keep these geographical divisions distinctly in mind. The remaining two divisions of the empire, Thrace and Macedonia, hardly enter into this history.

The Jews did not suffer in the change of rule. They were as free as before to live their own life. The High Priest continued as the head of the Jewish community whose centre was still Jerusalem. ALEXANDRIA, a seaport named after the conqueror, was made the capital of Greco-Egyptian kingdom. Many Jews settled there, and it gradually became the most important Jewish community outside of Judea, both intellectually and religiously. If there were Jews in Greek towns, so also were there Greeks in Jewish towns. This meant a mingling of the two races and a lessening of Jewish isolation. Alexander had brought the Greek tongue to the East and even the commercial interchange of commodities brought necessarily with it an interchange of ideas.

The first man of achievement to hear from in this epoch was the High Priest, Simon the Just. That he was called "The Just" tells much in a word. Like Aristides, he really earned his title. He rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, ravaged by war, and improved the water supply. Ben Sirach (one of the writers of the Apocrypha) compares him to the sun shining on the Temple of the Most High. Here is one of his maxims: "The world rests on three pillars, on the Law, on Worship, and on Charity." He took a broad and moderate

view of life. When over-zealous souls would wish to impose upon themselves the abnegations of the Nazarite (See Numbers vi) he discouraged such extremes. "Why voluntarily renounce gifts that God in His love has bestowed for our joy?" That voices the spirit of Judaism. It is said that certain wondrous manifestations of Divine grace ceased with his death. These are but legends, but they show how much he was revered and loved.

Joseph, the nephew of Onias, a man of resources, was appointed by Ptolemy Euergetes tax-gatherer of the Palestinian lands. It was a position of great importance, and made him practically governor (230 B. C. E.) of all Palestine with title of Satrap. He exercised his power with severity. Still he brought wealth and improvement to Judea and awakened in the Jews a greater confidence in themselves.

Certainly contact with the Greeks widened the horizon of the Jews, furthered their culture, and gave them a taste for the arts. But Greek civilization had perils as well as advantages—nor was it transplanted to the East in its noblest form. The Greeks were fond of conviviality, so often the stepping-stone to immorality. That was why the prophets, from Samuel on, so frowned upon Canaanitish revelries. Some Jews quickly imitated this pagan frivolity and dissipation. Joseph, the satrap, in order to please Ptolemy Philopater, the next Græco-Egyptian monarch, introduced Dionysian (Bacchanalian) festivities in Jerusalem; these really meant drunken orgies. Next he imported to the Jewish capital dissolute dancing-women. These associations began to loosen the adherence of the people

to Judaism's strictly moral code. Epicureanism, that sanction for indulgence, was beginning to take its place.

In the meantime the greed and ambition of kings changed the map once more. Antiochus the Great, of Syria, seized Egypt in 203. This transferred Judea from the Egyptian to the Seleucid rule. Warring nations had played battledore and shuttlecock with the land of our ancestors since the year 600. Antiochus was checked by the newly rising power of Rome from retaining all the Græco-Egyptian dominions, but Celo-Syria, including Judea, remained under his sway. In the struggle, some Jews sided with the Egyptian and some with the Seleucid party. For Jews were beginning to differentiate; they were not any more all of one mind either politically or religiously. Led by the unfortunate example of Joseph and his successors, some Jews began cultivating Hellenistic habits to win favor with their Greco-Macedonian rulers. A Jewish leader of the Greek faction was one Joshua, who Grecianized his name to Jason. This worldly man encouraged his people to neglect their Jewish ideals in favor of pagan standards of life. The safeguards built around the Jewish Law by the teachers of old were ruthlessly overthrown. But these traitorous extremes brought their own reaction. A pious party sprang up to counteract it and zealously determined to fulfill the Jewish Law in its strictest interpretation. These were the Chassidim (Greek, Assidean), meaning the pious.

Here then were two extreme parties in Israel—one, the Hellenists, whose mania for everything Greek made them almost traitors to the Jewish cause; and on the other hand the Chassidim, who observed the law with

a rigidity greater than its own demands; and in the midst the great bulk of the people, who tried to avoid the extremes of both.

CHAPTER III.

JUDEA FIGHTS FOR ITS FAITH.

SYRIA	B. C. E.	JUDEA	B. C. E.
Antiochus III, the Great . . .	223		
Antiochus IV, Epiphanes . . .	175		
		Uprising under Mattathias . . .	168
		Judas Maccabee	167
		Temple rededicated—Hannukkah	165
Antiochus V, Eupater	164		

Antiochus was succeeded by his son of the same name, an eccentric despot who claimed the title of Epiphanes, the "illustrious," though in rabbinic literature he is called Harasha, the "wicked." The rule of this ill-balanced tyrant was to bring woe to Judea, for which their own internal troubles were in a measure responsible. Indeed, it was these discords that drew his attention to this particular province. The Hellenists, who had grown to quite a party, sought his interference in their behalf. Jason offered the king a bribe to make him High Priest and depose Onias, his own brother. What a blasphemy on the holy office to fight for its material powers! The system was wrong as well as the man.

Olympic games, *gymnasia*, were now introduced into Judea. These games were intimately associated with

the Greek religion, for they were accompanied by sacrifices to Greek gods. Yet they also involved immoralities, so contradictory were some ancient conceptions of religion.

Menelaus, another unscrupulous character, offered to Antiochus a still higher bribe for the priesthood and thus obtained it, regardless of the fact that it had already been sold to Jason. Like master, like man.

Led from crime to crime, Menelaus became a traitor to his people. He robbed the Temple of some of its treasures to pay his bribe and then slew the deposed but worthy Onias because he had denounced the sin. The outraged people rose against Menelaus, but an armed guard provided by the king enabled him to hold his office by force, and saved him for the time being.

At about this time (170) Antiochus, like his predecessor, attempted to seize Egypt. Some patriotic Jews in Alexandria showed active sympathy for the endangered nation. Therefore Antiochus on his return from the expedition took Jerusalem, making the rivalries of Jason and Menelaus his excuse. This meant the slaughter of many souls and the desecration and plunder of the Temple. Not content with this, Antiochus spread slanders against Judaism to justify his excesses. The rumor went forth, for example, that a golden headed ass was found in the Temple.

Next year his further attack on Egypt was checked by Rome. Again he vented his rage on the Jews and determined to exterminate their religion as the most complete means of erasing their distinct individuality. Apollonios, his general, attacked Jerusalem on the Sabbath day, when he knew religious scruples would pre-

vent their resistance. Many more were slain and the women and children sold in slavery. A general plunder followed. The paganizing of Judea became now the determined policy of this tyrant. Therefore a decree went forth forbidding the recognition of the God of Israel and His Law and commanding the worship of Greek divinities—"gods that were nothings," to quote the Psalmist. The Law was burned and the statue of Jupiter set up in the Temple. Jewish ceremonial, Sabbath festivals, the Abrahamic rite, were replaced by the sacrifice of unclean animals. At the same time other methods were employed completely to subdue the people.

The same policy was applied against Jews in Syrian and Phoenician towns. But if some were weak enough to surrender their Faith, many were prepared to be staunch to it. Eleazar in Antioch met a martyr's death. Hannah, a mother in Israel, taught her sons how to die for conscience's sake. Martyrdom such as that found its counterpart in many scattered places. Not succeeding by threats and persecutions Antiochus resorted to arms. Again followed an unresisted Sabbath slaughter. The walls of Jeruslaem were leveled and Zion made a fortress with a Syrian garrison. Greek colonists were transplanted for the purpose of Hellenizing Judea. The country was placed under rigid surveillance. If a copy of the Law was found on the monthly inspection or an act of circumcision discovered, the punishment was death. Participation in the Dionysiac festivals was now a compulsion.

Yet many dared resist. From the human point of view, opposition seemed madness, but religious zeal

counts not the material cost. In Modin, a town three miles north of Jerusalem, MATTATHIAS with his five sons—John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar and Jonathan—threw down the gauntlet and began the attack against the enemies of their Faith. The old warrior sent this message to the people: "Whoever is zealous for the Lord and whosoever wishes to support the Covenant, follow me." That became the rallying cry. The little band deposed the Syrian overseer and guard. This decisive act was throwing down the gauntlet to Antiochus. Once more when attacked on the Sabbath, the Jews submitted to slaughter. Then they came to the realization that self-defense was their duty, even though on that holy day. Were they not fighting for a holy cause? They began at first guerilla warfare on apostates and heathens. Avoiding regular attacks, they would swoop down with a bold dash on a town to punish and reform.

Next year (167) Mattathias died. Simon became the counselor and JUDAS was chosen commander of the trusty band of revolutionists. He was Israel's greatest warrior since David. The title given him was transmitted to his party—*Maccabeus*, the Hammer. It would be an interesting study to follow what the Hammers have achieved in history from Gideon to Charles Martel. But a something more than generalship was to decide this contest—*Faith*. Judged by material standards, it seemed like a forlorn hope, but the intrepid bravery of this staunch band fighting *pro aris et focis*, "for their altars and their hearths," increased the number of their adherents and even won back the allegiance of some who had almost drifted from the fold.

The first victory over the Syrians was small, but

Appolonius, the general who had been entrusted with carrying out the persecuting laws, was slain. In a second engagement they were attacked at Beth Horon, north of Jerusalem, and Judas won here a still more decided success over an army much larger than his own. Antiochus became alarmed. He had not the means to raise a large army to meet this unexpected opposition, because all his resources were taxed to meet troubles in other quarters—Parthia, Armenia, Phoenicia.

Angered at the rebellion of this petty people, he now determined on their extermination, Hellenists and all. He sent Lysias with full power to Jerusalem to raze the city to the ground. To the Syrians the Jewish defeat seemed so certain that slave-dealers with money and chains followed the army, sure of a harvest in their repulsive trade. A horror like unto that of Shushan in Esther's days spread over the doomed city. But it raised champions, even among the Hellenistic Jews, who were still attached to their Faith when the decisive test came.

It was in the year 166 that Lysias sent an army of four thousand men into Judea under the generals Ptolemy, Nicanor and Gorgias. But Judas Maccabeus had now a well organized force, although it consisted of but six thousand men. Before the struggle began he called a solemn assembly at Mizpah, where Samuel had gathered Israel nine hundred years earlier, ordered a fast, conducted a service of prayer and read the Law. In reading the story of the Puritan war against Charles I. of England and their singing hymns before the battle, we are reminded of the religious earnestness of these Maccabeans. The usual proclamation that you will

find in the twentieth chapter of Deuteronomy was now read, excusing certain classes from the ranks, which reduced the army still more. Then the struggle once more began. By a clever stratagem Judas Maccabeus met the Syrian army on a plain near Emmaus, not far from the capital. With the words of the Law on his lips and with an encouraging appeal to fight for the holy cause, he gave the signal to advance. Defeating the first contingent of the enemy before the main army came up, the next battalion fled without fighting.

The moral effect of this decisive victory was most valuable, apart from the fact that the booty obtained supplied arms to all the force of Maccabeans—the sinews of war both in a literal and metaphoric sense. But Lysias dared not be beaten. He therefore sent a big army against Judas, whose force had meanwhile increased to some ten thousand. The Syrians chose a new route to Beth Horon, but only to meet the old defeat. This was the turning point in the war. The struggle was not over, but confidence was restored and a respite gained.

Judas Maccabeus marched to the capital and a sorry picture of desolation met his gaze. His first work was to remove all signs of idolatry and desecration. A new altar was built, the Temple was repaired and dedicated, and on Kislev 25th in the year 165, it was reconsecrated. The ceremony recalls Solomon's consecration, not as splendid a ceremonial perhaps, but it meant far more. Solomon's Temple had cost treasure, but this had cost blood. It was more than a civil victory, it was a triumph of the divine cause expressed in Israel's mission. They fought for Zion as an idea

rather than Zion as a city—the “Zion from which went forth the law.” They proved again that ideals can conquer battalions. This great lesson is always brought home to us when we celebrate our festival of Hanukkah (rededication) instituted by the Great Council. The Syrian had been defeated. He was the enemy without. But a greater foe had to be conquered, the enemy within—religious indifference, that lurked among the Hellenist worldlings and many faint-hearted souls throughout the land.

The legend ran that when Judas Maccabeus wished to consecrate the Temple, but one flask of pure oil bearing the priestly seal had been left after the enemy's ravage. It was a measure that would last for a day, but—marvelous to tell—it served for eight, by which time new oil was prepared. The story is immortalized in the name Feast of Lights, and in its ceremonial, kindling an additional light in the week's festival, from one to eight. What is the meaning of the ceremonial and the story? It is the Maccabean victory told in poetry. First, Mattathias stood alone for Judaism's cause, a solitary light. Then came his sons; then a tiny army growing instead of lessening with each conflict, from two thousand to six thousand, from six to ten; and with the conquest on the field rose the faith in the hearts of the people. The tiny embers became a flame, and the flame burst into a conflagration. This miracle is found often repeated in Israel's history.

The Feast of Lights is called a Minor Festival in our calendar, for reasons accidental rather than logical. It is hard to institute a new observance after a religion is crystallized. It is still harder to give it the old sanc-

tion. Yet in very truth Hanukkah is a great festival. None question its authority—all are thrilled by its stirring story.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Read "*Banner of the Jew*," poem by Emma Lazarus. and *Judas Maccabeus*, by Longfellow. Read *Psalms* lxxviii, xlii, lxxxvi, lxxxix; and from liii to lix, assigned to this period.

CHAPTER IV.

DANIEL AND THE APOCRYPHA.

In seeking to realize the critical time of "Storm and Stress," we shall be aided somewhat by taking a glimpse at its literature. For here we see pictured the struggles and sufferings experienced and the alternate hopes and fears that swayed the heart of the nation.

We must mention first the Book of DANIEL, perhaps the latest of the Bible books. Its complete meaning is revealed only when we learn that it was a product of these times. This book is written in the form of a revelation of future events depicted through dream and vision to the God-fearing Daniel, one of the Babylonian exiles. These visions cover the incidents of the intervening period between the Exile in the Year 600 and the Maccabean uprising in 175 B. C. E.

The first picture is the dream of King Nebuchadnezzar, which Daniel—who is as wise as he is good—is able to interpret. The dream presented an image with

a head of gold, breast and arms of silver, the lower limbs of baser metal and clay. A stone cut without hands destroyed the image and then grew to a mountain that filled the earth. In the light of later events, it is thus translated: The golden head was Babylon, the silver breast and arms the dual kingdom of Media and Persia, the lower limbs of baser metal and clay was the Greek empire, split up into many principalities, completing the picture down to the rule of Antiochus Epiphanes. But what did the "stone" represent? It expresses the faith of the writer in Israel's eventual triumph and the spread of Judaism over the world. But it was doubtless written when the outcome was still uncertain.

The same march of events is later repeated in visions to Daniel himself. The different kingdoms are now depicted in the figures of beasts that give the same assurance of Israel's ultimate victory.

In the third vision our attention is focused on the events nearer the Maccabean time. A ram with two horns is the Medo-Persian empire. A he-goat represents Greece, its horn Alexander the Great. Four horns that uprose in its place are the four kingdoms into which his empire was split—Macedonia, Thrace, Syria and Egypt, while a little horn that overthrows Judah's sanctuary is none other than Antiochus Epiphanes.

A last vision drops metaphor and mentions the kingdoms by actual name. The persecutions under Antiochus are vividly depicted:

"They shall profane the Sanctuary, even the fortress, and shall take away the continual burnt

offering; and they shall set up the abomination that maketh desolate. And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall be pervert by flattery; but the people that know their God shall be strong and do exploits. They that be wise among the people shall instruct many. Yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil many days. Now when they shall fall they shall be helped with a little help (the Maccabees). And some shall fall, to try them and to purge and to make them white." (The last reference indicates the ennobling influence of martyrdom touchingly depicted also in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah).

The death of these noble souls deepened the belief of this writer in the future life as demanded by divine justice:

"Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

The book was certainly written by the pious author to inspire his brethren during that dark struggle, to urge them to be loyal to God and His Law with the staunch conviction that all would come right in the end. Daniel himself, who is further presented as daring a fiery furnace and a lion's den, unswerving in his righteous determination to be true to the God of his fathers and saved from both—stands forth as a thrilling and inspiring example.

Who can say how many may have been nerved to be loyal and to "wait for God salvation" by these impassioned pictures? So, next to Judas Maccabeus, the

hero of the Hanukkah story, let us enshrine in our hearts and memories the unknown author of the Book of Daniel who fed the faith and the courage of Israel in their days of sorrow and darkness.

Next we will turn to that collection of writings previously mentioned, called the APOCRYPHA, a Greek word meaning hidden or obscure. This title as applied to their use was to indicate that the books were used for private circulation, rather than for reading at public worship. The term as applied to their origin was to indicate that their authority as sacred scripture was not as decided as that of the Bible books. This last application has given a rather sinister meaning to the word apocryphal. But the collection is full of lofty religious sentiment well worthy to be included in our most sacred treasures.

Like the Bible, this collection was not written all at one time, nor in one land. It spreads over the period between 200 B. C. E. and 150 A. C. E., written therefore under Persian, Greek and Roman rule; some in Judea, others in the lands of the Diaspora. While the term covers some writings of non-Jewish scribes, the Apocrypha proper includes the Jewish writings only, and only such will be considered here.

These consist of fourteen books that occur in the following order: 1 and 2, I and II Esdras; 3, Tobit; 4, Judith; 5, Additions to the Book of Esther; 6, Wisdom of Solomon; 7, Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus; 8, Baruch (with epistle to Jeremiah); 9, Song of the Three Holy Children; 10, History of Susanna; 11, History of Bel and the Dragon; 12,

Prayer of Masses, King of Judah; 13 and 14, I and II Maccabees.

Some are narrative, some prophetic or rather apocalyptic, and some didactic. While the narratives are not all histories, they are invaluable as depicting the inner life of the people, their brave struggles, their deep convictions, and their yearnings for better things. One idea seems common to all. Each story is presented as an illustration of the temporal trials of good men and women, like Tobit and Susanna, and the ultimate reward of their fidelity; the edifying purpose throughout tending to foster the faith and courage of the people in time of tribulation. In this respect the apocryphal books resemble Daniel.

While these books as a whole lack the freshness and originality and the exquisite simplicity of the best Bible books, they show none the less an advance in thought and survey. There is more mysticism in the apocryphal writings. Wisdom is personified, almost merging into a being. Angels and spirits play a larger part. Immortality is brought to the fore, and Asmodeus, a sort of devil, appears upon the scene. Some of these ideas, such as the personification of wisdom and the existence of a devil, were further fostered in Christianity and developed into distinct doctrines, while the inherent rationalism of Judaism gradually threw them off.

Let us consider the BOOKS OF THE MACCABEES, for these are the classic authority on the Maccabean uprising. The first Book gives a graphic picture of the struggle and the events that led up to it. It is also our source for the subsequent events which will be related

in due course, carrying the narrative down to 135 B. C. It is written from the strict standpoint of the Chassidim. These, it will be remembered, were the extremely pious party. It is couched in sober historic style. Its value as authentic Jewish history cannot be over-estimated. Written originally in Hebrew (or Aramaic), it unfortunately has come down to us only in a Greek translation.

The second Book of Maccabees was written in Greek and is a condensation of a larger work. It confines itself to the series of events between 175 and 160. Though written in more ornate style, it is less reliable; but it contains some interesting stories, such as the martyrdom of Eleazar, Hannah and her seven sons. Like Daniel, it is written to edify and inspire.

We have space here only for a detailed notice of Ben Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon, as indications of the influence of Greek thought at its best on Jewish thinkers. Together with the Bible books of Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes, they form a group called "Wisdom Literature." A large part of both books is devoted to the value of wisdom, but it is that wisdom the beginning of which is the fear of the Lord.

The Wisdom of Jesus (Greek for Joshua), Ben Sirach or ECCLESIASTICUS is a commentary on the times. It was written about 180, in Judea, before the persecution began under Antiochus, the Syrian, who was so little Greek and so largely pagan. It urges obedience to the Law and Commandments and gives copious rules of conduct in every relation of life.

Ben Sirach was a Jewish scribe. Some of his sayings are edited and some are original. Here are a few quotations :

Woe to the sinner that goeth two ways.

Wine and music rejoice the heart, and the love of wisdom is above both.

The knowledge of wickedness is not wisdom and the prudence of sinners is not counsel.

They (the laboring class) maintain the fabric of the world; and in the handiwork of their craft is their prayer.

He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his offering is made a mockery.

As one that slayeth his neighbor is he that taketh away his living.

As God's mercy is great, so is His correction also.

Before man is life and death, and whatsoever he liketh shall be given to him.

There is a shame that bringeth sin, and there is a shame that is glory and grace.

A slip on the pavement is better than a slip with the tongue.

Depart from wrong and it shall turn aside from thee.

The influence of Greek ideas on Ben Sirach is slight, on WISDOM OF SOLOMON it is pronounced. Indeed, this latter book was written in Greek, in Alexandria, the centre of Hellenist government. Its date is about 100 B. C. Like most of the books of this collection, it is ascribed to one of the great men of the Bible. Here King Solomon exhorts the rulers of the earth to seek wisdom and to shun idolatry. He expatiates on the influence of divine wisdom on life as exemplified in the

noble souls of Israel's great past. Here are some extracts:

Beware of murmuring which is unprofitable: and refrain your tongue from back-biting: for there is no word so secret that shall go for nought.

Honorable age is not that which standeth in length of time, nor that is measured by number of years.

If riches be a possession to be desired in this life, what is richer than wisdom that worketh all things?

Fear is nothing else but a betraying of the succours which reason offereth.

For these men [idolaters] there is but small blame, if they peradventure do but go astray while they are seeking God and desiring to find Him.

Even if we sin, we are Thine. But we shall not sin, knowing that we have been accounted Thine; for to be acquainted with Thee is perfect righteousness.

Court not death in the error of thy life. God made not death, nor delighteth He when the living perish, for He created all things that they might have being.

Wisdom is the effulgence from everlasting light, and the unspotted mirror of the working of God, and the image of His goodness.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

The discovery of fragments of the original Hebrew text of *Ecclesiasticus* was made by Prof. Solomon Shechter. See a number of articles in Vols. X. and XII. of the "*Jewish Quarterly Review*." (Macmillan, London.)

Compare the treatment of wisdom in *Proverbs* (viii.) and in *Ecclesiasticus*.

In addition to the quotation from Daniel on immor-

tality quoted in this chapter, we append here further Biblical quotations that express this belief: *Ezekiel*, xxxvii; *Hosea*, vi-2; *Isaiah*, xxvi-19; *Ecclesiastes*, xii-7; *Psalms*, xvi, 9-11; xvii-15; *Proverbs*, xii-28.

Montefiore, "*Bible for Home Reading*," Vol. II, Section I, Chapters II to V; Section V, Chapter II.

Driver—"Daniel," *Cambridge Bible*. (Cambridge University Press.)

CHAPTER V.

JUDEA FIGHTS FOR ITS INDEPENDENCE.

SYRIA	JUDEA
Demetrius I, Soter 162	Judas Maccabee died 160
	Jonathan, High Priest and Tributary Prince 152
Alexander Balas 150	
Demetrius II, Nicator 145	Simon — Judea independ- ent..... 142-135
Antiochus VII, Sidetes ... 138	
Demetrius II (again) 128	
Antiochus VIII 125-96	

This Temple consecration was the climax of the Maccabean story, but it was by no means its close. The worship had been restored, but the struggle to assure its perpetuity was not yet over. Independence was yet to be won, nor were animosities at home quite forgotten. It was an armed peace at best. Judas Maccabeus must now build new fortifications against possible invasion. The petty nations around all looked on with ill-concealed hatred. Those who in many instances had become Syrian allies had now to be met on the field.

The alert and energetic Judas marched out once more and subdued the Idumeans and Ammonites and won peace and security for his people dwelling on their borders. Appeals from brethren whose possessions had been despoiled and their families slain reached him from many sides. With the aid of his brother Simon, whom he despatched to Galilee while he marched to Gilead, these heathen raids were suppressed. Jewish refugees were brought to Judea. So there were new rejoicings at these victories on his return next year (164). The fight for the restoration of the Jewish faith was now over, but the fight for the restoration of the Jewish nation had only just begun.

Not for very long was Judas allowed to rest. It is far easier to take up the sword than to lay it down. The never-sleeping Syrians were again in the field, defeating two of his generals. But once more victory crowned his arms. In the same year Antiochus, humiliated with defeats in Parthia and Persia as well as in Judea, came to a sad end. His death left two rival governors for the regency of the Syrian kingdom.

The obstinate Hellenist party within Israel, who had not yet learned their lesson, appealed to the new monarch, Antiochus Eupator, to take up their cause. So war broke out again in 163. It was the Sabbatic year, when nothing is sown and when the land is allowed to lie at rest. (See Leviticus xxv.) So these circumstances added further embarrassment to the normal evils of war. It meant scarcity of provisions and the terror of long siege. Siege was a usual phase of ancient warfare. A brave fight in the open field against large odds brought reverse to the Maccabees. One of

the brothers, John, died on the field, a martyr to his bravery. He stabbed an elephant supposed to bear the king, though like Samson, he must fall in the overthrow he designed. The army retreated before the second siege was begun. Meanwhile Philip, the rival regent of Syria, raising an army against Lysias, compelled his withdrawal from Jerusalem. So Lysias concluded an honorable peace with the Judeans, allowing them the religious liberty for which they had at first taken up arms.

The blessings of peace were now theirs for a space. Judas Maccabeus was made High Priest. He was not of the priestly line, but the office involved the wielding of temporal as well as spiritual authority. For the former, none more fitted than he. Yet the strict party were not satisfied that it should pass from the traditional priestly family. The Hellenist menace had not yet disappeared, though Jason and Menelaus, its fathers, were now both dead. This party now supported a new Syrian claimant against the one endorsed by the Maccabeans—Demetrius (162), whose agent, Bacchides, appointed one of these very Hellenists, Alcimus, as High Priest. Thus discord was sowed anew in Israel.

The Syrians with large armies twice repulsed the small army of Judas, but Nicanor, the cruel general of Demetrius, was slain. This brought such relief to the Jews that "Nicanor Day" was celebrated in Judea for some years as a day of rejoicing. Judas was certainly at the head of the commonwealth now, even though he did not exercise its priestly functions. Hearing of Rome's great power and recognizing that it exercised a

kind of sovereignty over Syria, Judas entered into an alliance with it, but too late for its interference to be of aid. For he had now to meet a larger avenging army under Bacchides with a meagre force, discouraged by persistent war and overwhelming odds. With but a few hundred men, he went forth to meet the picked thousands of his foes, as brave and as determined as the Greeks at Thermopylæ. When defeat was certain he yet stood fighting and undaunted till wounded unto death. So died a great man who had wrought salvation for Israel. He had made Judah a nation of warrior heroes exalted by religious zeal. His name, his spirit, continued to inspire them to determined resistance against foes without and within. Their religious liberty gained at such fearful cost, even Demetrius, though now holding Judea in subjection, no longer dared defy.

With Judas the Great and his brother John both dead, with Alcimus, the Hellenist, as High Priest, and with a Syrian garrison in the capital and all the surrounding places, there was more or less conflict and demoralization. The outlook was not promising. But JONATHAN, another of Mattathias' five sons, a worthy brother of Judas, kept the Hasmonean party together. So, although from the death of Alcimus, there was no High Priest or political head for seven years, still the confidence of the Jews in Jonathan quietly grew; and he enabled them to hold their own in a new uprising. Indeed, he made them strong enough for Bacchides to enter into terms of peace. At this juncture Jonathan was recognized as their official head. The Hellenist

party quietly died out; they never had the people behind them.

When the Syrian throne was seized by an adventurer, Alexander Balas, he realized sufficiently the importance of Jonathan to appoint him High Priest and Tributary Prince in 152; though the deposed Demetrius now sought Jonathan's aid too. The tables were turned and Jonathan held something like a balance of power, for Demetrius still maintained a partial sway. Jonathan showed his foresight in remaining loyal to Alexander Balas, also to his son who became Antiochus VI.

Loaded with honors, Jonathan was now given the golden clasp of independence, and his brother Simon made a Syrian commander. Loyalty to the Syrians meant hard fighting now for the Jews, but the opportunity was given now to strengthen the defences of Jerusalem and to enable the city and the people to recover from the ravages consequent on a long series of wars. Judea had now an army of forty thousand men. They stood by Alexander Balas when all deserted him. Even then concessions were obtained from the new king, Demetrius II., showing that the Syrian power was broken.

The treachery of Tryphon, a general of the new king, led to Jonathan's death and the massacre of a thousand of his men. It is hard to say to whom Israel owed the greater debt, Judas or Jonathan. Judas saved the nation at a perilous hour; Jonathan reorganized it and gave it an abiding strength.

SIMON, the last brother, now placed himself at the head to rally and save Judea. This resolution, where only the non-resistance of despair was looked for, com-

pletely upset Tryphon's scheme and saved Judea from disaster. Like Jonathan, he became at once by popular choice the religious and civil head of his people with the title, High Priest, included. He felt the time had come to throw off the weak rule of the unreliable, vacillating Syrian power, though this was far beyond the original expectation when the revolt began and far beyond its aims. Yet the march of events made it a logical sequence. He decided to recognize Demetrius II. against Tryphon on condition that Jewish independence be recognized in turn. The terms were accepted—"We release you from the crown which you owe us and we remit the taxes that we laid on Jerusalem." Verily, the yoke of the Gentiles was taken away from Israel.

The Seleucidian Era was now renounced together with the Seleucidian sway, and the reckoning of years began anew from 142 with the accession of Simon as High Priest, Commander of the Army and Prince of the Nation. This marked again the independence of Judah that had been lost since the year 600 B. C., when Nebuchadnezzar overthrew Jerusalem and its Temple and took the Jews into Babylonian exile.

NOTE.

Jewish shekel and half-shekel coins of Simon's time are still in existence. (See *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition Volume*.)

CHAPTER VI.

IN THE DIASPORA.

Having brought our story to the close of an epoch, we will pause and glance at the status of the Jew in other lands. The dispersion in a voluntary way had already begun, though Judea was still the centre of gravity. The sway of the High Priest reached not only to the Palestinian provinces—Phœnicia, Samaria, Galilee, Gilead, Edom and Philistia—but extended through parts of Asia Minor and lands on both banks of the Mediterranean Sea. These lands of settlement in the First and Second Centuries before the Christian Era outside of Palestine are called the Diaspora. The land that next to Judea contained the largest number of Jews was Egypt. Our narrative has been moving to and fro between these two lands. In no country outside of Greece itself was the Greek spirit so completely diffused as in Egypt. Alexandria, its new capital, displacing it as the intellectual centre of the world, was quite a colonial Athens, and while the Greek civilization at its worst was tinctured with an enervated orientalism and had much in it debasing, yet the Greek spirit at its best also found its way to Alexandria, and its influence was intellectually broadening and elevating on the Jews resident there. It has already been pointed out that the meeting of Greek and Jew was to be of lasting consequence to the world at large.

Under this Greek regime the Jews were given equality in Egypt, and also in Cyrene (on the coast of the adjoining country, Lybia), at least officially. The

Greek-Egyptian royal house was called the Ptolmaic, from Ptolemy, the family name of its kings. Ptolemy Philometer was a contemporary of Antiochus Epiphanes, and many Jews fled from Palestine to take refuge under his benevolent sway.

The Jews have always concentrated in large cities when settling in other lands where they would find themselves a small minority. This has been a source both of strength and weakness to them. Can you see why? The Delta, an Alexandrian district on the sea-coast, was wholly a Jewish colony. The Jews participated in both the commercial and intellectual activities of this famous capital of antiquity. They exported grain, formed artisan guilds, and established schools which were also their synagogues. Onias, son of the Jewish High Priest of the same name, was the most renowned of the Judean settlers. He was entrusted with an army in one of Philometer's campaigns. He was likewise chosen by the Judeans of Egypt as their Ethnarch (governor), to direct the affairs of the Jewish community. Around him the people coalesced into a strong body.

He conceived the idea of building a Temple for the benefit of the Alexandrian Jews whom distance practically debarred from the benefits of the Temple in Jerusalem. If right at all, the right to establish it was most naturally his as heir of the High Priest at Jerusalem. Yet it was a bold step, a daring precedent, since only one sanctuary, that at Jerusalem, had been recognized since the days of Josiah. Such was the law. (See Deut. xii, especially verse 13.) It was, not unnaturally, condemned by the Jews of Jerusalem. We

would say, if it was a daring innovation, it was abundantly justified under the changed conditions. The Deuteronomy law was of great value at the time in preventing the spread of idolatrous notions through the ministrations of ignorant village priests; but "New occasions bring new duties." Again, the two-and-a-half Tribes in the days of Joshua (see chapter xxii) offered a precedent when they built a second altar on their own side of the Jordan. Lastly, it was almost a realization of the exquisite Messianic picture in Isaiah xix, 19-25, where an altar would be built in Egypt, and Israel, Assyria and Egypt would be united under God's blessing.

However, built it was, at Leontopolis, in old Goshen, land of early Israel's sojourn, and near the famous Memphis. It received royal sanction and aid.

Philometer's confidence was further shown in appointing Onias Arab-arch, i. e., commander of the Arabian province Heliopolis, and also custodian of the Nile ports. But his interest in Israel was further manifested in his hearty endorsement of the translation of the Jewish Scriptures. This translation was made incidentally for the Greeks, but really for the Jews. Hebrew was growing more and more of a strange tongue to the new generation in Alexandria and its surroundings. Even in Palestine proper they no longer spoke Hebrew, but Aramaic, a sister tongue. A translation of the Bible had already been made in this language, called Targum. Indeed, the books of Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah are written almost wholly in this language. But, furthermore, this translation gave the desired opportunity to the Jews to explain their faith and

literature to the people with whom they were now brought in friendly contact, and would silence the slanders of ill-wishers such as the Egyptian priest Manetho.

At first only the Pentateuch was translated, each book entrusted to a different authority. A pretty story that we must not take too seriously says it was entrusted to seventy-two persons, six from each tribe. The tradition survives partly in its name—SEPTUAGINT—(seventy), written lxx. The anniversary of this really great event was commemorated by the Jews as a holiday. We may say that this translation of our Scripture into this widely spoken tongue was the beginning of the mission of the Jew to carry God's Law to the Gentiles. The Greeks were among the great educators of the world. Now the Bible was revealed in their tongue, it became the property of the world and its lessons reached the hearts of many scattered far and wide.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

So many Hebrew terms and constructions were used in this Greek translation that it became a modification of the language, a sort of Jewish-Greek.

Septuagint. Schurer, *"Jewish Life in the Times of Christ,"* 2d Division III, S. 33 (Scribner). This is a very valuable work on this era, but should be accepted with reservations.

The fairest presentation of the Judaism of these times by a non-Jewish author is Toy's *"Judaism and Christianity."*

Read article *Alexandria*, Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I

"Are there traces of Greek philosophy in the Septuagint?" Freudenthal. Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. II.



BOOK II.

JUDEA INDEPENDENT



CHAPTER VII.

PHARISEES AND SADDUCEES.

THE HASMONEAN DYNASTY		ROME	
	B.C.E.		B.C.E.
Simon.....	142	Final subjection of Carthage and Greece.....	146
John Hyrcanus I.....	135	Pompey takes Syria and closes the Seleucidan dynasty.....	65
Aristobulus I.....	105	Pompey Takes Jerusalem	63
Alexander Janneus.....	104	1st triumvirate, Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus....	60
Salome Alexander.....	78	Cæsar.....	48
Aristobulus II.....	69	2d triumvirate, Antony, Octavius and Lepidus.....	44
Hyrcanus II. (tributary to Rome).....	63	1st Emperor, Augustus.	30 B.C.-14 A.C.
Antigonus.....	46-37		
—			
Herod.....	37-4		

The new kingdom acquired *de jure*, must yet be fought for to be maintained *de facto*. The citadel of Jerusalem, as well as the city of Gazara, key to the mountain passes, had still to be mastered. Successful in both, Judah could enjoy some years of long needed peace. Simon furthered the religious as well as the political welfare of his country. The people could till their ground in peace at least, even if they could not all "sit under their own vine and their own fig-tree"; for "there was none to fray them away". Simon, moreover, "strengthened those who had been brought low, the Law he searched out, and he beautified the sanctuary". (I. Maccabees.)

The office of High Priest, maintained hitherto in a hereditary priestly family, was now transferred to the Hasmonean House, and hence devolved on Simon. He renewed the treaty with Rome, which had taken

the place of Greece in becoming the greatest power in the world and the arbiter of nations.

When Trypho was slain, Antiochus turned against the Jews, but was defeated by Simon's sons. Alas, his fate was not to be an exception from that of the rest of his warrior brothers. None died a peaceful death. Simon, together with his sons, was treacherously slain by his own son-in-law, Ptolemy, an unscrupulous man, cruelly ambitious for the throne.

JOHN HYRCANUS, the oldest surviving son of Simon, became the next Jewish ruler. So imperceptibly a royal house had been created, and the princely honor came to Hyrcanus by *hereditary succession*. In just that way have all Kingly lines been created—starting with a great deliverer, like Judas Maccabee, Hyrcanus had not only to rout the new usurper before the kingdom could become his, but had also to resist the siege of Antiochus VII., the next Syrian king, who would not yet renounce Judea without another struggle. Peace was at last reached by Hyrcanus agreeing to the payment of tribute for a few outlying towns and an indemnity.

This first repulse showed that the new kingdom was not very strong and that it owed its independence to Syrian weakness (due to the continued conflicts of rivals and pretenders), rather than to its own material power. But Syria's embarrassment was Judah's opportunity. J. Hyrcanus, once secure, began a vigorous campaign to enlarge his boundaries after Antiochus had been slain in a Parthian campaign. Very soon he had incorporated the old land of the Ten Tribes, now called Samaria. The complete conquest of the Samaritans was undertaken toward the end of his life. Their

famous temple on Mt. Gerizim was destroyed. Idumea (Edom) was also conquered and Judaism imposed by force, but that kind of conversion was always against the free and tolerant spirit of Judaism and against its very genius. We shall later see that it brought its own Nemesis and weakened the cause of Israel.

Let us not forget that the rise of the Hasmoneans had come about in a measure through a conflict for religious integrity between the extreme pietists on the one hand, the Chassidim, and the worldly Hellenists on the other, with varied shades of opinion in between. These religious divergences had now crystallized into two schools that acquired the names—PHARISEES and SADDUCEES. It is hard to say just when these distinctions began. Perhaps they were always there; for we meet the two groups—conservative and progressive in all creeds and in nearly all eras. The division is natural. It marks broadly the two grand divisions into which all human beings become grouped in organized society.

Now let us consider in particular the distinctions that differentiated these two parties in the Jewish State. The Sadducees were largely composed of the priestly families—the priestly caste, who were not necessarily the religious class. It corresponded rather to what we would call the aristocracy. In this party too were largely the military. They were faithful to the Mosaic Law, the Pentateuch, but gave slight allegiance to the later religious injunctions that came to be developed from the Law by the Scribes. As to their attitude toward life in general, they did not approve of holding aloof from the world, but encouraged a mingling with

self-righteous or hypocritical. How undeserved as describing that group of people whose trust in God was absolute, without reservation or misgiving. This is but one of many instances where the world's verdict has been unjust to the Jew. The noblest men of later days came from the Pharisees.

We meet also a third party nearest in sympathy to the Pharisees. The old Chassidim, the extremists, had developed into the ascetics of the Jews, under the name of *Essenes*, with a similar meaning—pious. They lived the life of a communistic celibate brotherhood. They hardly affected the national life of Israel, because they were too few and because they did not recognize patriotic obligations. They practiced all the self-denial of the Nazarites of old and sought to reach from cleanliness to godliness. Another derivation of the name Essene is "bather," Baptist, from their frequent ablutions.

The Hasmonean House—where did they belong? Well, we might say that they began their career with all the religious enthusiasm of the Pharisees, they closed it with the political outlook of the Sadducees. This was something like an anti-climax.

John Hyrcanus perhaps represents the dividing line. He started on a career of conquest simply to satisfy national ambition; though he had forced Judaism on the Idumeans. In his later years, he rejected many traditional observances of the Oral Law that completed his estrangement from the Pharisees. Taking a material and external survey, Hyrcanus left the Jews at the end of his life with an independent State, that in power and extent was as great as Northern Israel in its

palmy days, as great perhaps as the realm of Solomon. He could mint his own coins, on some of which still in existence, we find inscribed, "Jochanan, High Priest of the Commonwealth of the Judeans." Yes, it was all very splendid! But surely the Jews had learned by now the insufficiency of national glory that was material and external, that that kind of splendor was apart from the Jewish ideal. "Not by might, not by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." The age needed an Amos again. Alas, the era of the Prophets was over!

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

"Hasmonean" was the family name of Mattathias, afterwards assumed by his descendants.

Pharisees and Sadducees. Geiger, "*History of the Jews*," Vol. i, Chapter viii.

The fact that Jesus of Nazareth condemned the false Pharisees (See Matthew xxiii and Luke xi) has much to do with their general condemnation in literature.

The Talmud is also bitter against the false Pharisees, the Zebuim, the tainted ones who do evil like Zimri and claim goodly reward like Phineas. In its severe denunciation of the false Pharisees, it divides them into six classes:

1. Those who do the will of God for earthly motives.
2. Those ostentatious ones who go with slow steps and say "Wait for me, I have a good deed to perform."
3. Those who knock their heads against a wall because in their looking up they fear they may see a woman.
4. Those who pose as saints.
5. Those who say, "Tell me of another duty."
6. Those who are pious because of the fear of God.

"Who are the genuine Pharisees?" asks the Talmud. "Those who do the will of their Father in Heaven because they love Him."

CHAPTER VIII.

A ROYAL HOUSE AGAIN.

IN ARISTOBULUS, eldest son and successor of John Hyrcanus, we see the Hasmonean further and further estranged from the generous spirit that called them to the fore. Judas Maccabeus wished only to be the savior of Judaism and the Jews, Aristobulus wanted but to be their KING. The story of Abimelech in the days of the Judges and Jotham's parable come forcibly to mind. (Judges ix.) He imprisoned his mother, to prevent her succession to the throne, according to his father's wish, and likewise his brothers on suspicion of treason. Slander said he slew them. But Antigonus was his favorite brother, and he shared the royal power with him. He was certainly unpopular with the people, who accused him of being more Greek than Jew. Calumny made him even worse than he was, ascribing to his instigation the death of his beloved brother Antigonus, who was assassinated toward the close of his reign. He continued his father's policy of conquest, and together with his brother subdued portions of northern Palestine, including Galilee, and like his father again imposed Judaism upon them. While in both instances the motive for the forced conversion was probably ancestral pride, still it showed religious zeal too—though not of the highest kind.

The widow of Aristobulus, SALOME ALEXANDRA, released her husband's brother from prison at his death and by marrying ALEXANDER JANNEUS, the eldest,

and raising him to the priesthood, he became king. Like his brother, he was not a man of peace, but of war. He further increased Judea's territory by conquest on the Western Philistine side bordering on the Mediterranean.

He was not the man to quiet the growing dissensions between Pharisees and Sadducees, but rather to foment them. For the royal Sadducean party was getting more and more estranged in policy and aim from the national and religious aspirations of the people. There was a not always silent protest against the warrior king officiating as High Priest. At the Feast of Tabernacles, the people pelted him with their citrons, which they were carrying together with palms (*lulab and esrog*), symbols of the Harvest Festival. This could not end without a tragedy, and a large number were slain by his foreign mercenaries. This conflict grew into a civil war, both sides in turn hiring foreign troops, and resulted in a terrible decimating of Judah's numbers, the Pharisees losing most largely. Such is one of the evils of uniting religious authority with temporal power. The rebellion was finally put down, but only with an iron hand.

This king, who could not be at peace, spent his last days in fighting the Arabians, who were just beginning to be Judea's most dangerous neighbor. He inherited from his Maccabean ancestors love of arms without inheriting their military genius. This meant much wanton waste of life and some reverses. How vain this purpose of spending blood and substance in extending his territorial sway and making it nominally Jewish by force of arms, while fomenting religious an-

tagonism at home—always destructive of religion itself. Such are the ironies of life. He left an even bigger State than his father, John Hyrcanus. Judea now meant the whole seacoast (with the exception of Ascalon) from Mt. Carmel to Egypt and reached far east of the Jordan.

The throne went by will to Alexander Janneus' widow, who, it will be remembered, was also the widow of his elder brother, Aristobulus. Upon her eldest son, Hyrcanus, Queen Salome bestowed the high priesthood. Her sympathies, however, were entirely with the Pharisees. The exiles came back and political prisoners were released. The land enjoyed a pleasing contrast under her pious and gentle sway. All the Pharisaic ordinances abolished by the late king were reinstated. Indeed, all the religious interests were placed in their hands. It was a prosperous, peaceful reign, and was looked back upon as a blessed day. In the stormy days that were to follow, it might well seem in retrospect, a golden age.

We have seen that the High Priests were no longer the religious centres around which the people rallied. The Jews had outgrown the age of priestism, although the splendid ritual of the sacrificial altar still continued. The religious guides and teachers were the scribes, learned in the Law, who at this time appear in couples. Hence they are called the "Pairs." The first of each pair held the office of *Nasi*, or President of the Sanhedrin, and the second that of *Ad Beth Din*, or Vice-President.

These were:

*Flourished
about*

1. Jose ben Joezer and Jose ben Jochanan170 B.C.E.
2. Joshua ben Perachia and Mattai the Arbelite140 - 110
3. Judah ben Tabbai and Simon ben Shetach100 - 90
4. Shemaiah and Abtalyon..... 65 - 35
5. Hillel and Shammai..... 30

Here are some of the most famous sayings attributed to them:

Jose ben Joezer—Let thy house be a meeting place for the wise. Cover thyself with the dust of their feet and quench thy thirst with their words.

Jose ben Joezer—Let thy house be opened wide and let the needy be thy household.

Joshua ben Perachia—Procure for thyself an instructor, possess thyself of a worthy associate, and judge every man in the scale of merit.

Mattai the Arbelite—Associate not with the wicked and flatter not thyself that thou canst evade punishment.

Jehudah ben Tabbai—Constitute not thyself dictator to the Judges.

Shemaiah—Love labor and hate pomp and suffer thyself to remain unknown to the head of the State.

Simon ben Shetach flourished in this reign. He was brother-in-law of the king, by whom he had been nevertheless imprisoned. But when the queen came to the throne, he was practically placed as the religious head of affairs. Simon ben Shetach and his associate Tabbai reorganized the Council and hence were called "re-

storers of the Law." From this time on the Pharisaic became the official interpretation of Judaism.

In all large towns Simon ben Shetach established schools for young men for the study of Pentateuch and the laws interpreted from it. As President of the Council, he was very severe on those who infringed on the law. He was even called the Judean Brutus, as he did not spare his own son. He reinstated many customs that had been neglected by the Sadducean régime. Among these was the joyous "Water Celebration" during Tabernacles, a trace of which still survives in the ritual of *Shemini Azareth* (the festival that follows Succoth). The celebrations were accompanied by illuminations and torchlight processions, religious music and dancing. The water drawing at the Spring of Shiloah was heralded by blasts of the priests' trumpets. Another national custom revived was the summer "Wood Festival," on Ab 15th. It had relation to the use of wood at the altar fires, and was a further opportunity for joyous unbending among the youths and maidens.

The Pharisees on the whole were the more democratic party, and decided that the maintenance of the Temple should be borne by all and not merely by voluntary offerings of the rich few. This new law brought enormous revenues to the Temple which later became its menace, attracting the covetous rather than the worshipper.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Sayings of the Jewish Fathers, Chapter I. Taylor: Cambridge Press. Translations and notes.

These sayings, which form one book of the Mishna, will be found in the Sabbath Afternoon Service of the Jewish Prayer Book.

CHAPTER IX.

RIVAL CLAIMANTS FOR THE THRONE.

Even before the good Queen Salome died, storm clouds began to darken the horizon of Judah. Her second son, ARISTOBULUS, inherited all his father's fierceness and tyranny. The throne had been naturally left to the elder brother, Hyrcanus; but the headstrong Aristobulus was determined to grasp the reins of power, though it might cause blood and treasure. So civil war began before the good queen had quite breathed her last. Hyrcanus, the weak, yielded, and all might have been well were it not for the interference of a new enemy who was eventually to bring about the ruin of the Jewish State.

It will be recalled that John Hyrcanus had conquered the Idumeans and made them seemingly Jews. We shall now see the kind of Jews they were. One, Antipater, was the local governor of this Idumean province. He was a man who lusted for power and had absolutely no scruples as to the means of gaining his ends. He saw that with the weak Hyrcanus on the throne, he might become a power behind it.

He began by insinuating himself into the favor of the Jewish nobility, and, ostensibly, as a pleader for justice, emphasized the evils of Aristobulus' usurpation. Letting that poison work, he came to the innocent Hyrcanus and played upon his fears with a made-up story of conspiracy against his life. Most reluctantly was Hyrcanus persuaded to flee with him from Jerusalem to an Arabian prince, Aretas. Aretas was in-

duced to lend his aid in the expectation that Hyrcanus, once in power, would restore the cities Alexander Janneus had taken from the Arabians.

So unhappy Judah was plunged in war again to gratify the unworthy ambitions of unworthy men. Aristobulus was defeated in battle by Aretas and was besieged in the Temple Mount.

An interesting incident is told at this juncture that recalls the Bible story of Balaam. In the party of Hyrcanus there was a man, Onias, whom rumor said had brought rain in times of drought through his fervent prayer. He was now brought into the camp and asked to invoke God's curse on Aristobulus and his allies. But such prayer he considered blasphemous, therefore he voiced his petition to heaven in these words: "O God, King of the whole world, since those that stand now with me are Thy people and those that are besieged are also Thy priests, I beseech Thee that Thou wilt neither hearken to the prayer of those against these, nor bring about what these pray against those." Alas, the temper of warfare had not patience or appreciation with this sublime attitude. The man was stoned. But in a sense his prayer was answered.

For the Aesop fable of the two bears quarrelling over a find, thus affording opportunity for a third to step in and seize it, was here to be exemplified. Rome was ever on the watch to bring all outlying provinces into her net. Pompey, her victorious general, whose head Julius Cæsar was later to demand, was just now making his triumphant march through Asia. The brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, appealed to his lieutenant. To leave the decision with Rome was a

dangerous precedent, for the power that could grant a throne by its decision might also take it away. So, while it was rendered in favor of Aristobulus, it was as a vassal rather than as independent king that he held his throne for some two years. The real gainer was Rome. It had now the right to revoke its decision; and it did. The people, disgusted with their unworthy leaders who cared nothing for the nation, but only for its honors—appealed to Rome to abolish the monarchy that had been gradually introduced and restore the old régime of the High Priesthood.

But Aristobulus dared resist even Rome and entrenched himself against invasion. This was fatal both for him and Judea. The Temple Mount was besieged. It was taken with frightful massacre by lustful Romans. This was in 63. Pompey entered the Holy of Holies (a sacrilegious act in the eyes of the Jews), in which, to his surprise he found no idol. He curtailed the Jewish State and made it tributary. Aristobulus must grace Pompey's triumph at Rome.

So much for the vain conquests of John Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannæus. They evaporated with a word from Pompey. Thus ended the Judean independence for which the early Maccabees had fought so nobly. It had endured but seventy-nine years. Over this tributary State Hyrcanus II. was made High Priest. The kingship created by the first Aristobulus was short-lived indeed.

CHAPTER X.

JUDEA UNDER ROMAN SUZERAINITY.

Rome, from the city on the Tiber, had spread over all Italy. Then gradually it mastered the lands on both sides of the Mediterranean. Greece and Carthage were absorbed in the same year, 146. Soon its tide of conquest reached to Asia, and all the lands won by Alexander—excepting Persia—were under its sway. When Syria, Judah's quondam over-lord, fell before its arms, it inevitably followed that Judea would eventually succumb at its approach, even without the unhappy series of events that hastened it. In a sense Rome was becoming the "Mistress of the World." Nor was her sway as transitory as that of earlier world powers—Assyria, Babylonia, Persia and Macedonia. It was to endure for many centuries and it has left a lasting impress upon the world's civilization.

Already the captives that Pompey took to Rome, later freed and called Libertini, formed together with earlier emigrants the beginnings of an important Jewish community. Here later still we find this Jewish colony on the Tiber quietly influencing Roman affairs.

Judea, with the rest of Palestine, was now placed under the general supervision of Rome's Syrian governor. Internally its life was not interfered with, but all temporal—that is political—power was taken from the High Priest. His authority was confined to the Temple. Both Aristobulus, who had escaped from Rome, and his son, Alexander, made foolhardy attempts for the throne, which only resulted in further

curtailing of Judah's power. Yet another abortive attempt and thirty thousand of the defeated malcontents were sold into slavery. This chafing against its rule only brought Rome's mailed hand more fiercely against them.

Rome now entered upon its own period of civil war when men lustful of power drenched their country in blood. In B. C. 60 Julius Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus divided the Roman possessions between them and formed the First Triumvirate. Crassus, being given Syria, plundered the Temple treasures. On the death of Crassus, Cæsar, ambitious for supreme power—the fatal weakness of this really great man—crossed the river Rubicon that was the boundary of his province of Gaul, made war on Pompey, who was soon slain, and held for a brief time sole sway. In 44 Cæsar was killed by Brutus and Cassius. These in turn were overthrown by Cæsar's avenger, Marc Antony, and a new Triumvirate was formed, consisting of Antony, Octavus (Augustus) and Lepidus. These were as disloyal to each other as the first group. Antony, seduced from his duty by the witchery of that fatally beautiful woman, Cleopatra of Egypt, was finally defeated and overthrown in the battle of Actium, 30. Octavius Augustus now held the reins alone and the Roman Empire was launched. Augustus, the first emperor, reigned from B. C. C. 30 to A. C. E. 14.

These few outlines of Roman history will have to be kept in mind to follow events in Judea, for much was to happen to storm-tossed Israel between the first Triumvirate and the empire of Augustus. Every change in government at Rome affected the land of Israel. In-

deed, in all their subsequent history no great event occurred in the world without affecting the Jews in some way, and many of these world events were in turn influenced by them.

When Pompey was killed in 48, that arch-conspirator, Antipater, who had sided with him while in power, now with Hyrcanus, his puppet, professed friendship for Cæsar, helping him with Jewish troops for his Egyptian campaign. Cæsar extended favors to both. Hyrcanus as High Priest was once more given political authority, and Antipater was made Procurator of Judea. Mark the thin entering of the wedge. Permission was granted to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and concessions and privileges were also conferred on the Jews of Alexandria and Asia Minor, for Rome's sway reached far. So the Jews sorely lamented Cæsar's death.

The political power granted to Hyrcanus as High Priest carried with it the title of Ethnarch, which means governor of a province. But all power was really exercised by Antipater who, as Procurator of Judea, made his son Phasael governor of Jerusalem, and his son Herod governor of Galilee. How this intruding stranger had tightened his grip on the land of our fathers!

Herod was to play an important rôle in Judah's fortunes. Already as governor of Galilee, a youth of twenty-five, he showed his masterfulness in the summary execution of a marauder. Summoned to the Sanhedrin, and knowing how much Rome had reduced its power, he defied it; for at this moment Cæsar, having been slain, Cassius was master of Syria. He was

aided by the craftily adaptive Antipater and Herod, who succeeded in squeezing money from Judea for the maintenance of their army against Antony. Herod was now made governor of Caelo-Syria and could snap his fingers at the Sanhedrin. Judea, in fact, was a prey to anarchy.

In 42 Brutus and Cassius were defeated at Philippi by Antony and Octavian, and it seemed that an end had come to the fortunes of Herod. His father had been slain, caught in a final act of heartless duplicity against Hyrcanus. But Herod had the adroit cunning of his father and knew how to desert a sinking ship and change his allegiance to the man of rising fortunes. With plausible words Herod made his peace with Antony. Nor could the complaints against him and his brother by the Jewish nobility avail any. On the contrary, Antony made them both *tetrachs*—subordinate governors—of Judea at the expense of the weak and aging Hyrcanus.

ANTIGONUS, a son of Aristobulus, taking advantage of a Parthian uprising, made one more effort to seize the Jewish throne. Herod was put to flight and Hyrcanus deposed altogether. This last scion of the Hasmonean house held a brief royal sway from 40 to 37. He lacked the greatness of the earlier Hasmoneans to hold the nation and antagonized the Sanhedrin instead of attaching it to him. Herod, after varied shifts, sailed to Rome, making an appeal at headquarters. Deceiving all by his plausibility, he obtained an appointment as "King of Judea" from Antony's senate. But for that throne he must now fight the man in possession. There followed a series of engagements in

which Jewish blood flowed freely. With the aid of Rome, Herod was of course successful, ultimately taking Jerusalem itself. Antigonus was put to death, and this ended the Maccabean—or rather the Hasmonean—rule in Judea so gloriously begun a little over a century before.

CHAPTER XI.

HEROD.

What had been the result of the attempt of Alexander Jannæus to force Judaism upon Idumea? It had given Antipater, from the intimate relations created, the opportunity to make Hyrcanus his puppet, and ended by placing the Jewish crown upon the head of Herod who was absolutely unjewish in ancestry and sympathies and really a pagan at heart. Herod, in fact, delivered Judea to Rome that he might be made its vassal king.

He had married Marianne, the beautiful daughter of the weak Hyrcanus—a stroke of policy, to be allied in marriage to Judah's royal family.

Undoubtedly he was a man of power of a sort, born to command; but there was no soft spot in his nature. He had all the instincts of a tyrant, and neither scruple nor pity deterred him from carrying out his passionate will and his insatiable ambition. He inherited all his father's cunning allied to fine judgment and untiring

energy. Though of undoubted bravery, he knew how to fawn before those in power.

The first dozen years of his reign were marked by storm and conflict with enemies both without and within. The feelings of the Jews can be imagined in having this alien thrust upon them by all-powerful Rome and whose first act was to slay their patriots and confiscate their property. Rebellion was put down with a merciless hand. Step by step he carried out his relentless purpose and put to death all the survivors of the royal line, the flower of the Jewish nobility, and likewise every member of the Sanhedrin that had some years before censured one of his misdeeds.

Very unwillingly he appointed his wife's brother as High Priest. It was a fatal distinction for the young man, for the people too openly expressed their regard for this scion of the Hasmonean line. What was the consequence? One day when refreshing himself in the bath, he was held under the water till life was extinct. It was called an accident! Alexandra, his mother, a hard woman, appealed to Rome through Cleopatra to punish this murder. Herod was summoned to answer for his conduct before Antony, but his plausible manner aided by bribery won his acquittal. The tyrant marked his return by the execution of his brother-in-law, to whom he had entrusted Marianne in his absence, and against whom his jealousy imagined betrayal.

That Antony at this time gave part of Palestine proper to Cleopatra, including even a bit of Judea, and that Herod the Strong must bear it without protest, showed on what slender tenure he held his throne. So

completely was he under Rome's control that Antony, to satisfy the whim of Cleopatra who disliked Herod, commanded him to undertake a campaign against the Arabians, while she secretly assisted them.

When Antony fell at Actium in '31 in that contest between continents, Herod managed adroitly at the right moment to go over to the side of the victorious Octavius Augustus, Rome's first emperor. As a needless precaution he put to death his own father-in-law, the aged Hyrcanus, to whose weakness he in a measure owed his throne.

Soon in the good graces of Augustus, he received back all the lands taken from him by Cleopatra. But before his departure for Rome to pay homage to Augustus, he had repeated the order given prior to his previous visit, that Marianne should be put to death in case his cause should take a fatal turn in Rome. Learning of this revolting plan in his absence, she upbraided him on his return. This gave his envious relatives opportunity to slander her and defame her honor. The jealous Herod believed the calumny against his innocent wife and—think of it—ordered her to be put to death, though, in his savage, sensual way he loved her. Remorse came too late, which wild excesses could not drown. Soon her mother followed her to the block on the better founded charge of conspiracy. More deeds of needless bloodshed were perpetrated by his wanton command until every remnant of the Has-monean house was destroyed.

Herod was a renowned builder. He wanted to have a splendid capital with which he might dazzle Roman

grandees and foreign plenipotentiaries. Notice the bent of his mind—his conception of a monarch—not a father of his people living up to an *ich dien* maxim, but the possessor of power and glory. He must needs have grandeur without, though there was misery enough within. So we have temples, amphitheatres, and hippodromes. He built for himself a palace that was a fortress too, with parks and gardens around it. New cities were laid out, not for the honor of Israel, but for the honor of Augustus Caesar, and named after him. Samaria was rebuilt and renamed Sebaste. He rebuilt a city on the coast and called it Caesaria, with a fine haven. One he named Antipatris after his father, another after his brother, Phasaelis; Agrippaeum, after Agrippa, and Herodium, a stronghold, after himself. Existing strongholds were restored and strengthened. Nor did he neglect to mark the outlying provinces with examples of his building passion.

The old Temple of Zerubbabel now looked shabby among these fine edifices, and he determined to rebuild it. This was one of his great achievements. There was no religious motive whatever in the project, for he had built outside of Jerusalem many heathen shrines. The purpose was wholly worldly. If there is to be a Temple, let it be gorgeous to gratify vanity. It took many years to build and was not finished till long after Herod's death. The whole circumference of the Temple, including the fortress of Antonia connected with it, covered almost a mile. It must have been magnificent, for a proverb arose, "He who has not seen Herod's building has never seen anything beautiful." Yet, with all his grandeur, remember he was but a

subject king under the sway of the Roman emperor. He could not make treaties or war without the consent of the emperor, to whom he had to supply on demand troops and money.

The introduction of heathen games in theatres and race-courses, in which the lives of gladiators and runners were lightly sacrificed to gratify the brutal instincts of the spectators, deeply grieved the faithful Jews. It was in such violent antagonism to the ethics of Judaism. But what could they do? They were in the power of this pagan tyrant.

He gathered in his capital, too, Greek litterateur and artists. To these scholars were given state positions of trust. But this was no more an indication of love of culture than Temple building was love of religion. Ostentation was at the root of both.

Yet the Pharisaic party (the great mass of the people) was too strong for him to carry his paganizing influence as far as he wished. He ungraciously yielded, out of prudence, now and then to the religious sensibilities of the people. The building of the sanctuary proper he entrusted to priests, nor were images placed on the Jerusalem buildings. But the Roman eagle was later erected over the Temple gate. For an attempt to remove the eagle, forty young men zealous for the law were burnt alive. The Jewish Sanhedrin was shorn of all power.

He appointed unfit men as High Priests and removed them when they did not do his bidding. That such appointments should be left in his unsympathetic hands! Finally, the people were heavily taxed to support heathen splendor of which they did not approve.

So his reign, so hateful to them, was maintained only by despotism and force. An attempt was even made to assassinate him. The people had to be watched by spies. Yet in the year 25 he brought all his energies to the fore to save the people from the consequences of famine. Let us remember this in his favor; also that he used his power to secure protection for Jews in the Diaspora.

By paying lavish court to the emperor and his son-in-law, Agrippa, his territory was gradually doubled. A splendid kingdom viewed superficially, but it brought no happiness to this unscrupulous man. Peace in the home, domestic joy, these are the things that prowess and power cannot buy. The story of how this barbarian had put to death his favorite wife, Marianne, has already been told. Two of her sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, were now grown to man's estate. But his sister, the wicked Salome, who had plotted against the mother, now tried to fill the king's mind with suspicions against her sons. In this purpose she was aided by Antipater, son of Herod by another of his wives. Learning that their mother had been put to death by their father's mandate, they openly expressed their anger, which so increased the king's suspicions, that he accused his sons before the emperor. The mildness of Augustus could only postpone the eventual tragedy—the execution of the young men by order of their own father. Antipater—the real conspirator against Herod, though his favorite son,—was at last detected, and of course executed also. Surely the latter days of this king were bitter.

These domestic troubles were aggravated by bodily

disease and the knowledge that he was hated by his people. Determined to be mourned at all costs, he imprisoned some of the most distinguished men of the nation with orders that they were to be killed at the moment of his death. Thus would he obtain a mourning at his funeral! Was not this the climax of savagery? This fiendish purpose was, however, never carried out, so he died unwept and unmourned.

He is called "Great" to distinguish him from some puny Herods that followed in the fast dying Jewish State. We can call him "Great" only in the bad sense—an awful example of the abuse of power in the hands of an unscrupulous and blood-thirsty man.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Marianne: Zirndorf, *"Some Jewish Women."* (Jewish Pub. Society.) Grace Aguilar, *"Women of Israel."*

In Talmudic literature "Edom" is often a disguised term for Rome, because in the Bible story Esau is the rival of Jacob. When we remember that Antipater and Herod were Idumeans (Edom) and that they practically delivered Judea to Rome for the price of a crown, the rabbinic usage is peculiarly appropriate.

CHAPTER XII.

HILLEL.

Let us now take a glance at the religious life of Judah in this reign. Hillel was made president of the Sanhedrin in the year 30. A new direction was given to the development of rabbinic Judaism under his guid-

ance. He was the greatest Jewish teacher since Ezra. Like Ezra, too, he came from Babylon, which had remained a Jewish centre since the exile, 600 B. C. E., and was to continue to be a Jewish centre for many centuries later. Pleasing stories are told of the sacrifices made by this poor boy to gratify his thirst for knowledge, once almost frozen to death while lying on the roof to hear the discussion, since he could not hear it from within. Ultimately he was placed at the head of the Sanhedrin where at first he was a beggar at its doors. Great as he was as the expounder of the Law, he is perhaps best known by the sweetness of his character. None could put him out of temper, it is said. He united in himself gentleness and firmness.

Many interesting instances are given of his evenness of disposition that disarmed the violent and won many a convert to the fold, where the brusqueness of his colleague—Shammai—often drove them away. He thus became the peacemaker. In this connection he taught, "Be of the disciples of Aaron—loving and pursuing peace, loving mankind and bringing them nigh to the Law." His consideration for others went so far that a man of standing, becoming suddenly poor, he provided him with a horse and servant that he might still enjoy some of the comforts of his earlier life.

He is the author of the famous Golden Rule in its earliest form, uttered in reply to a heathen who would have him teach the whole Law while he stood on one foot. "That which is hateful to thee do not unto thy neighbor. This is the principle, all the rest is commentary."

In the following maxims many phases of character are revealed :

"He who wishes to raise his name, lo

"A name made great is a name destroy

"My humility is my exaltation; my e
is my humility."

"He who will not learn or teach deserve

"He who does not progress, retrograde

"Say not, 'when I have time I will st
you may never have leisure."

"Trust not thyself till the day of thy d

"In a place where there is no man, s
show thyself a man."

"If I am not for myself, who will be
But if I am for myself alone, what am I
if not now, when?"

Do you realize how much is contained in th
sentence? Unravel it and you will see reve
philosophy of life.

So gentle, he was yet, daring. Where an
was abused, he ventured to modify it. The I
example, for release of debts every seventh ye
particularly for the benefit of the poor (Deu
hampered the growth of trade in more compl
and changed a generous purpose into an oc
embarrassment. In such cases Hillel allowed
ulation to be stated in the contract that the la
lease was to be suspended.

To Hillel is due the important service of
a logical system of deduction by which laws
new needs could be developed out of the simp
briefer Bible code. It must be confessed th
deductions were occasionally far-fetched. None

the custom prevailed among the rabbis to make laws for all exigencies in that way for many centuries to come. The practice arose from the reverence paid the Law that induced them to seek authority for every regulation they found needful, in the pages of Holy Writ. We might say it was a virtue carried to the extreme of a fault. Hillel's Seven Rules gave new force to the Oral Law. So he was called the "Re-generator of the Law."

In Hillel and Shammai the "Pairs" referred to in Chapter viii reached their culmination. A teaching of Shammai ran, "Say little but do much." These two men were the founders of two distinct schools of interpretation of Jewish Law. They were as distinct in their character as in their exposition of Scripture. Hillel was broad, tolerant and original; Shammai—narrow, strict, and conservative. Hillel's opinions were usually accepted by later generations.

"Where go you, Master," said his disciples one day when he hastened from the house of learning. "I go to meet a guest," Hillel replied. "Who is this guest of whom thou so often speakest?" The sweetness of the master's face deepened into earnestness. "My guest is my soul. Too often in intercourse with the world must its claims be pushed aside."

But the day came, as indeed it must, when the soul was summoned to a greater tribunal than his own. The day of Hillel's death was a day of mourning in Israel. "O, pious, gentle, worthy follower of Ezra," cried the sorrowing people.

Such was the love and esteem in which he was held by the scholars of his own and later ages, that the pres-

idency of the Sanhedrin was kept in his family for four centuries, thus almost treated like a Royal Line; and in this way his memory revered for many generations.

To the Shammai school we owe the many stringent prohibitions with regard to the Sabbath and to ecclesiastical purity. They objected even to teach the young to visit the sick and comfort mourners on the Sabbath day. We are glad to state that Jewish practice has taken the opposite view. The rabbis of the Shammai school were severe in their religious decisions, in the interpretation of patriotism and in their views of life generally. We might compare them with the first Puritan settlers in America.

This school was against the admission of proselytes from the heathen. Yet in those stormy times, these severe views against the heathen found the larger following. From these doubtless came the band of ZEALOTS—those awful irreconcilables whose fanatic hatred of Rome and its institutions became almost a religion, and whose deeds form a lurid chapter in Judah's closing days.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

See Geiger's *History of Judaism*, Vol. I, Chap. VIII.

Sayings of Jewish Fathers, Taylor, pp. 34 to 37.
Hillel, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. VI.

CHAPTER XIII.

HEROD'S SUCCESSORS.

The selfish Herod had split up his kingdom among his three sons—Archelaus, Antipas and Philip. Before Rome had yet confirmed the succession, and while a procurator was placed in temporary charge, already the sons were intriguing against each other. Rome carried out Herod's wishes, only that his sons were made Tetrarchs (governor of a fourth part of the province), instead of kings. How steadily Rome moved toward its purposed end!

Archelaus was made Tetrarch of Judea Samaria and Idumea. The realm of Antipas was Galilee and Perea, the Jordan dividing the two districts. To Philip was given the remaining provinces of Bacanaea and Trachonitis in northern Palestine.

A brief word on each of these principalities. PHILIP held a mild sway for thirty-seven years. There is nothing to record in these outlying provinces, partly because they were far removed from the Jewish centre of gravity.

The realm of ANTIPAS often mentioned in the New Testament, was a little nearer. His recognition of Judaism was only formal. He inherited all his father's vices and like his father, too, he was a great builder. He built Emmaus in Galilee, and Tiberias on the Lake of Gennesaret. In his reign flourished John the Baptist in Perea, and also Jesus of Nazareth in Galilee, of whom we shall have much to say. As this term, *Baptist*, was applied to the Essenes because

of their frequent ablutions, as already suggested, John may have been the leader of that party.

We know that John preached in the wilderness in the neighborhood of the Jordan, the centre of the Essenes. His bold words, in which he denounced the king, led to his imprisonment, on political grounds, as an agitator. His influence on the people was feared by Rome, for it was hard then to separate religion and politics. It is sometimes hard now. It is said he was finally put to death at the wish of Herodias, a wanton woman, to marry whom Antipas had divorced his wife, the daughter of an Arabian king. This not only involved him in a disastrous war, but Herodias caused him eventually the loss of his government and his freedom. For at her investigation, aiming at a kingship, he was banished, and his tetrarchy given to Agrippa, of whom we shall hear later on.

To come now to Judea proper which, together with Samaria and Idumea, was entrusted to the unfit ARCHELAUS; like his father he, too, had to secure his throne through bloodshed. Plots and counterplots with the appearance of pretenders for the thrones of Judea and Galilee, characterized this unhappy time. The Jews were disgusted with the rule of Rome and its creatures, and some began open rebellion. Varus, the Syrian governor, finally quelled the revolt, but thousands were slain. Had the Jewish malcontents been organized under trustworthy leadership, something might have been achieved. As it was, it ended in their complete subjection.

There is little else to tell of the reign of Archelaus.

Serious charges were brought against this tyrant, so serious that the emperor recalled him to Rome and deposed him. He had reigned ten years, 4 B. C. to 6 A. C., thus crossing the dividing line of what is called the Christian Era, from the tradition that it marked the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, who is regarded as its founder. Jesus was actually born four years earlier than this date.

Herod had brought Judea so completely under Roman control, that bit by bit all the old vested rights, privileges and local powers had been taken from its Sanhedrin, its High Priest and its royal family. Herod had practically sold Judea to Rome for the privilege of subserving as its king. So that its fate was now wholly in Rome's hands.

Leaving the outlying provinces under the rule of Tetrarchs, Rome now decided to govern Judea absolutely as a Roman province, or, rather, to make it part of the province of Syria: i. e., it sent out governors or, as they were called, PROCURATORS, to administer its affairs under the more immediate direction of Syria. The Jews were now to be ruled by strangers who had no understanding of their religion and no sympathy with their traditions or social needs; by men possessed, in fact, for the most part, of an ill-concealed antagonism to the peculiar rites and obligations that entered into the lives of conscientious Jews.

At its best Judea had been a Theocracy, i. e., a kingdom in which religion, represented by the priesthood and the Sanhedrin, moulded the thoughts and directed the affairs of the nation. Roman rule, therefore, would

be revolutionary, even had the procurators been good men and had sought to administer the province in kindness and equity. As a matter of fact, they were nearly all tyrants, lustful for gain at any price and absolutely indifferent to the welfare of the people under their charge; even as we shall see, in many instances wantonly wounding Judea's sensibilities to gratify their cruel pleasure. No wonder the Jews were eventually goaded into a war of desperation.

As to the Jews in other lands under Roman sway, we find Augustus Caesar well disposed to them. He placed the harbors of the Nile under Judean Alabarchs (same as Arabarch). His kindness to the Alexandrian Jews was in marked contrast with his severity toward the Greek Alexandrians. In the city of Rome he allowed the Jewish settlers—Libertini—to observe their religion undisturbed, and to build synagogues.

So in the deepening shadows this was a glimmer of light too.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

For the relation of Baptism to the Essenes, read articles on those topics in Vols. II and V, respectively, of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

BOOK III.
JUDEA UNDER ROME



CHAPTER XIV.

JUDEA UNDER PROCURATORS.

PROCURATORS	A.C.E.	ROMAN EMPERORS
Coponius.....	6	Augustus
Marcus Ambivius.....	9	“
Annius Rufus.....	12	“
Valerius Gratus.....	15	Tiberius
Pontius Pilatus.....	26	“
Marcellus.....	36	Caligula
Marullus.....	37-41	Claudius

The Procurators fall into two groups with a Jewish appointee intervening. The table above is the first group of these administrators of Judea. Their seat of government was Caesaria, Jerusalem's rival. The Jews had nominally a certain freedom under this regime. "The oath of allegiance to the Roman emperor was more an oath of confederates than of subjects." The Sanhedrin was still supposed to be the governing body for home affairs with the High Priest as its president. But the arbitrary appointment and removal of High Priests by the procurator placed these powers at the mercy of his caprice, and ultimately the Jews were robbed of these prerogatives altogether. The procurator then could always interfere with the carrying out of Jewish law. It is important that these facts should be borne in mind, for even in religious offenses where the High Priest with the Sanhedrin could pronounce the death sentence, the confirmation of the procurator was required for the execution. So heavily were the people taxed that the tax-gatherers (Publicans) were looked upon with opprobrium. Doubtless many of them dishonestly abused their power.

Still Judea was the only province in which the worship of the emperor was not compulsory. The reason is obvious. To pagan communities it was an indifferent demand, to the monotheistic Jews it was simply impossible. It was attempted by Caligula, but failed. Even the local coinage bore no figure, nor were the standards bearing the likeness of the emperor tolerated, as such was regarded as an offense by the strict interpreters of the Second Commandment. Even the tyrant Pilate could not force these banners on Judea. They violently opposed a census in the year 7 both on religious and on political grounds, as they regarded it as an infringement of their sacred rights and the precursor of slavery. But Joezer, the High Priest, quieted them and induced them to submit.

Still, from such incidents the stern determination of the Jews may be inferred. Judas of Gamala, in Gaulanitus, a Galilean, and a religious enthusiast, went about preaching the duty of rebellion and the sin of submission. Gradually these malcontents formed themselves into a new party of extremists—the ZEALOTS, who believed in using the sword against the heathen to hasten the Messianic realization. They already began nursing the smouldering embers of rebellion.

So far in general. Now to speak of the rule of the procurators a little more in detail.

Passing over the earlier governors of whom we are told little, we may come at once to Pontius Pilate, whose regime was eventful in many ways. More detailed accounts, both in the Jewish historian, Josephus,

and in the Jewish philosopher, Philo, are given of his regime. From the trustworthy Philo we are told that he was of "an unbending and recklessly hard character." "He has been charged with corruptibility, violence, robberies, ill-treatment of the people, continued executions without even the form of trial, endless and intolerable cruelties." He wounded Jewish sensibilities in allowing the Roman soldiers to carry a flag with the emperor's likeness, on his very first entry into Jerusalem.

For five days they stood outside his palace petitioning its removal. When the soldiers with drawn swords stood ready to slay at his signal, the people bared their necks, preferring death to toleration of this idolatrous emblem. Such was the religious intensity of the Jews of these last years of their national life, such was the stuff of which they were made. Even tyrants reach limits beyond which they dare not pass. The emblem was sullenly withdrawn.

At another time he appropriated the Temple treasures, sacredly set aside for religious purposes, for the building of an aqueduct to Jerusalem. This time he resorted to violence to quell the opposition, many lives being sacrificed.

With the purpose only of annoying the people, he put up votive shields inscribed with the emperor's name. But they appealed to Tiberius who not only ordered them removed, but rebuked Pilate at the same time.

On another occasion the Samaritans, to whom Gerizim had all the sanctity that Sinai had for Judea, because the Blessings were announced from its heights

(see Joshua, viii—33, and Deut, xi—29), gathered there on a rumor that sacred vessels were hidden in its soil. Pilate sent soldiers to wantonly slaughter them. This led to his recall by Tiberius.

The Emperor Tiberius decided that it was kinder to the Jews to appoint procurators for long terms than to make frequent changes. It meant the greed of a smaller number to be satisfied. But, on the whole, his attitude was less friendly than that of his predecessor, Augustus. This may have been due to the fact that many Romans of high birth had, unsolicited, accepted the Jewish faith, and had sent gifts to the Temple at Jerusalem. Among these converts was Fulvia, wife of a Roman senator. This led to the banishment from Rome of many thousands of Jews to a dangerous climate, and became for a time a religious persecution.

The incident, however, shows that the worthier Romans were becoming more and more distrustful of pagan cults and were looking for something better. We shall see later how zealous Jews from Judea, and more particularly from Alexandria, began making converts to Judaism all through Asia Minor. The influence of these converts on future events was farther reaching than their sponsors ever dreamed.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Theme for discussion: Does official Judaism discourage conversion?

Why did the Jews oppose a census on religious grounds? See II. Sam. xxiv, and article Census in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER XV.

JESUS OF NAZARETH.

So far the rule of Pontius Pilate as it concerned **J**udea. But his rule has become of wide import because of his relation to **J**ESUS OF NAZARETH, who was **P**ut to death during his administration, though born **i**n the province of Galilee governed by H. Antipas. **T**o explain how a great religion sprang up around **t**his Galilean Jew, which came afterwards to regard **h**im as its father, can be explained only by a complete **g**rasp of the political and religious aspirations of the **t**ime.

(a) The ominous mood in which the Jews realized **t**he gradual deprivation of their country and their **i**ndependence indicated the stirring of deep forces in **t**heir nature. Judea was to them a Holy Land, for **“**from Zion had gone forth the Law.” Love of country had become part of their religion. Every political **f**unction had its religious aspect. The Sanhedrin was **a**t once a civil and a religious body, and this dual characteristic pervaded all the civil institutions. So the **l**onging for the restoration of the royal line of Judah, **i.** e., the coming of the Messiah, expressed the religious **a**s well as the political hopes of the nation. Not that **t**he word Messiah had any peculiarly religious significance. It is the Hebrew word *Mesheach*, meaning **“**Anointed king,” and was applied in the Bible to Saul and even to Cyrus, the Persian. It implied in post

exilic times nothing more than the re-establishment of the throne in the Davidic line.

Many of the pious felt further that with a king once more on an independent throne, the glorious pictures of the coming day foretold by the Prophets and not attained in the first monarchy, would be realized in the second. "The Lord's house would be established on the top of the mountains; all nations would flock to it, saying, Come let us go up to the house of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob. He will teach us His ways, we will walk in His paths." (Isaiah and Micah.) Again, "The earth would be full of the knowledge of God as the waters cover the sea." The conviction expressed by Jeremiah (Chap. xxxi, 33-34) would be fulfilled, that all would "know the Lord from the least of them to the greatest." One of the latest of the Prophets—Zechariah—had foretold a day when "ten men would take hold of the garments of him who was a Jew and would say, We will go with you, for we believe that God is with you." So we might quote nearly every prophet from Amos to Malachi, the last prophet, who said that the day of judgment would be heralded by the undying Elijah. A Jewish poet in Alexandria voiced the same hope: Heathendom would disappear and the kingdom of God would be established.

Alas, the outlook for either the spiritual or the temporal realization seemed farther removed than ever. Every now and then, more particularly under the disturbed regime of the procurators, a deluded enthusiast would appear upon the scene and claim that he was a Messiah. So desperate were the times that these agitators always found followers. They were always ruth-

lessly put to death by Rome, for the claim of Messiahship, i. e., "King of the Jews," was treason against Rome.

(b) In a previous chapter the Essenes have been described—a sect that lived as a brotherhood in the vicinity of the Dead Sea, who shared all goods in common, condemned wealth and passed simple lives away from the great world. While they too looked for the coming of the Messiah, they, together with the most saintly among the rest of Israel, laid less stress upon the political aspect of the coming of the King than upon the spiritual implication. Their deeply religious longings, inspired by the great prophets, were directed, not so much to an earthly as to a heavenly kingdom.

We have already heard of John the Baptist (Essene), who so stirred the people by preaching that the kingdom of God was at hand—the Messianic hope. He evidently inspired one youth, who may have been of the Essene brotherhood, Joshua (Greek Jesus) from Nazareth, in Galilee. Galilee, like the other provinces in northern Palestine, was away from the learning and culture of Jerusalem. It was the home of simple folk who spoke a corrupt dialect, and who credulously accepted the widespread superstition that every disease came from an in-dwelling spirit of demon.

Of the life of the man Jesus who came from these surroundings little is really known, but from a few bare facts very much had been deduced and still more imagined. Apart from the fact that he was the son of a carpenter—Joseph—we only hear of him about two years before his death, and that occurred at the

early age of thirty-two. Yet his stirring words in a daring manner deeply impressed those about him. So that his admirers formed a separate sect after his death, which in part may have been a continuation of the old Essenes, but which eventually became a different religion with Jesus as its inspiration.

Though by no means a profound scholar in the Law, he exhibited fine moral perception and lived up to the pure ideals of the strict, peace-loving Essene brotherhood. In his teachings or rather preachings, he followed in the footsteps of the prophets Amos, Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah, laying stress upon the spirit of religion and minimizing the value of ceremonial. For there were formalists in those days as there were in the days of the Exile. Indeed, every age reveals the experience of the multitude laying more stress upon the ceremony than the idea it is intended to convey—giving more attention to the outward, tangible form than to its inward spiritual purpose, the exaltation of life. Nor is that tendency confined to the ignorant either. Religion so easily sinks into a mechanical routine unless we keep vigilant watch. This lesson is preached by the moralists of every age. It was preached by Jesus of Nazareth with rare power.

(c) But it was not so much his ethical teaching, lofty though it was, that brought him into prominence and caused the crowds to gather about him, though the rationalists lay stress upon that now. It was partly because he was regarded as a "healer," a power claimed by the Essenes; but chiefly because he was regarded as the long-looked-for Messiah who would deliver Israel

from the thralldom of Rome and gratify their wildest expectations. Whether he first of his own accord laid claim to this mysterious title, or whether he was persuaded into it by his admirers, we cannot gather from the few records that tell the events of his life. For even these, the Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark and Luke) were written long after his death at a time when startling opinions had already been formed about him; and they do not quite agree. In fact, once regarded as the Messiah, his life was *recast* to fit the Messianic prophecies in the Scriptures! This made the Jesus of the Gospel largely a mythical character.

Jesus could quite honestly have believed himself to be a Messiah in the religious sense, though he was rather evasive when bluntly questioned. For many sincere enthusiasts both before and since his time have believed themselves specially chosen messengers of God to bring redemption to their people. Mohammed, who flourished several centuries later, believed himself to have been sent by God to bring salvation to the Arabians. And in a sense he was; to call him an impostor is uncharitable and untrue. In Israel's history, since the days of the procurators not a century has passed but some one has come forward claiming to be the Messiah. Some were honest, though mistaken; some were mere adventurers.

Jesus accepted the Essene idea of the Messiah, that is, he was less concerned with ushering in an earthly than a heavenly kingdom. He was spurred on by the religious rather than by the political expectations of the Messiah's advent.

This distinction was not clearly realized by the sim-

ple masses of the people, groaning under a hated yoke; certainly it was not realized by the Romans, who saw in every Messianic claim treason against Rome, a plot to win independence for Judea again. On the other hand, Jesus applying to himself on one occasion the term "Son of God"—that may mean so little or so much—awakened the alarm and antagonism of the priesthood and lost for him many supporters. So Jesus, who was probably innocent of any blasphemous assumptions against Judaism and guiltless of any conspiracy against Rome to seize the throne and be made "King of the Jews," was nevertheless condemned to death like the Messiahs before him and was executed by the Roman method of capital punishment—crucifixion. But unlike the Messiahs before him—all mediocre men—his name has been treasured ever since as one of the great religious teachers of the world.

(d) For although he died without bringing the redemption which would have proven his Messiahship, his followers did not lose faith in him. His turning kindly to the poor and despised folk, even the sinful and degraded, to preach his lessons, had won all hearts. As they had believed he had performed miracles in his lifetime, so now they tried to persuade themselves that a greater miracle had been fulfilled in his death—that he had not really died, but had been translated to heaven like Elijah and that he would return some day and complete his unfinished work. In those unlettered days belief in the supernatural was very common. Among certain folk it is not so uncommon in our day.

So these believers that Jesus was the Messiah became a new sect called Christians. What does Christian

mean? Christ (Christos) is the Greek for Messiah. So the name Christians meant Messiahans, and the name Jesus Christ meant Jesus the Messiah. Though Jesus himself did not speak Greek, but Aramaic, the earlier Christian Scriptures were written in that tongue.

The Jewish Christians continued to live much as the Essenes before them, like them assuming voluntary poverty and faithful as of old to Jewish Law. But in later years when many pagans joined this sect, they introduced into it many idolatrous notions, borrowed from the cults of Greece, Rome and Egypt. The man Jesus was exalted into a divinity and worshiped as such. The shedding of his blood at his execution was regarded as a sacrifice intended by God to atone for the sins of mankind, based on the ancient idea that the priest shed the blood of an animal in atoning for the sins of the people; but the Hebrew prophets and some of the psalmists had all condemned animal sacrifice as a means of atonement; it was a stage of religion beyond which the Jews were advancing and ceased altogether in the year '70. The next step which separated the Jews from the Christians was the abrogation of the Jewish Law. This was brought about by a later teacher, Paul.

The process by which this Jewish sect became a new religion, most of whose adherents came from the heathen world, was slow and gradual. We shall refer to the different steps in the development of this Faith as they occur, and we shall see how this sect born in Judaism became its antagonist and its most bitter persecutor in later days.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Read the article, "Christianity" in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. iv, by Dr. K. Kohler.

The reasons there given why the death of Jesus should not be attributed to the Jews, may be summarized as follows:

Crucifixion was not a Jewish, but a Roman method of capital punishment.

During the period of unrest, prior to the open rebellion against Rome, 30-66 C. E., many Jews were crucified as rebels, and on very meagre evidence.

"The mode and manner of Jesus' death undoubtedly point to Roman custom and law as the directive power," though Jews may have administered a soothing cup to lessen the suffering.

None of the well established measures of precaution were taken that always preceded a Jewish execution. It is very doubtful whether Jewish law would tolerate a three-fold execution at one time.

A Jewish execution on Friday is almost impossible. If he died on Nissan 14, the execution on the eve of a festival would be irregular. If on Nissan 15 (Passover), the execution could not be held. (Bodies of delinquents were not buried in private sepulchres.) Penal jurisdiction had been taken out of the hands of the Sanhedrin. There is no corroboration of the custom to liberate a condemned person on account of a holiday. Rome had crucified many other Jewish claimants for Messiahship, who were "rebels" in its eyes, as Messiah meant practically, "King of the Jews." This was the inscription on the cross of Jesus.

Many of the accompanying incidents are mere apocalyptic embellishments.

Read *As Others Saw Him*, Joseph Jacobs; Macmillan.

Jesus of Nazareth, Schlesinger. Albany.

Cradle of the Christ, Frothingham. Putnams.

Matthew, Mark and Luke are called Synoptic Gospels is distinct from the Gospel of John, a later and more doctrinal work.

CHAPTER XVI.

A JEWISH KING ONCE MORE.

In contrast with the behavior of Pilate was the consideration shown for Jewish sensibilities by the Syrian governor, Vitellius, to whom the procurators were subject. He was the best Roman governor Judea ever had. He exhibited an uncommon forbearance by remitting some burdensome taxes; he sympathetically inquired into the needs of the people and removed the unworthy Caiaphas from the High Priesthood.

In speaking of the immediate overseers, we must not forget the relation of the Jews to the highest authority—the Roman emperor. Some of these gave no thought to them apart from appointing their governors or procurators. With others the Jews came in clashing contact. Such was the case with Caligula, who donned the purple in 37. This demented man believed himself to be a divinity, so that obeisance to his image was not merely an act of allegiance, but of worship. The consequences of this sacrilegious command was first felt by the Jews of Alexandria; for the Ptolmaic and the Seleucid empires were both Roman now. An actual persecution here took place in which the Jews were besieged in their own quarter, the Delta. For their refusal to obey the emperor's childish demand gave excuse to their tormentors to attack them under the guise of patriotism. Patriotism may be the mantle for so many sins. Synagogues were defiled and many persons were slain. Philo, a great Jewish philosopher, went to Rome to intercede for his brethren, but in vain.

To Judea likewise came the same blasphemous demand with the threat of similar punishment. At last the mad monarch ordered his image to be set up in the Temple and entrusted the task to the Syrian governor, Petronius, a man of the stamp of Vitellius. He did his best to delay the wanton edict at the risk of the emperor's displeasure. At last, yielding to the agonized entreaty of the people, he perilled his life by asking the emperor to revoke the order. Agrippa, a Jewish favorite of Caligula, succeeded in persuading the emperor to renounce the abortive project. Soon, however, he repented and determined on its execution. But relief came to Alexandria and Judea at one stroke—the emperor was murdered in 41.

The next emperor, Claudius, restored to the Alexandrian Jews all the privileges that had been taken from them during the rule of his predecessor, and their rights were more firmly established than before. In fact, religious freedom was now granted to the Jews throughout the whole Roman empire. But best of all, he stopped the regime of the procurators by appointing a king of Judea, one of their own brethren—AGRIPPA.

Agrippa was the grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne, thus having both Idumean and Hasmonean blood in his veins. As a child he was sent for his education to Rome. The influences of Rome were not healthy. They made the lad luxurious and extravagant. Loaded with debts he returned to Judea and was assisted by his brother-in-law, Antipas. After varied fortunes he came again to Rome, befriended by the Alabarch, Alexander. Tiberius, emperor at that time, received him favorably and gave him charge of his grand-

son. But still his extravagant habits continued, and an incautious word sent him to prison, where he remained till the emperor died in 37.

The new emperor, Caligula, who was mad enough to think himself a divinity, was also sane enough to make Agrippa his friend. So now his fortunes began to rise. On the death of Philip and on the deposition of Herod Antipas, their Palestinian provinces were bestowed on him as king. Honored with the title of Praetor, his iron chain was exchanged for one of gold. So, like Joseph, he was transferred from a prison to a throne. While still in Rome, he succeeded in dissuading the emperor from putting his statue in the Jerusalem Temple. At Caligula's death he assisted Claudius in obtaining the imperial throne. In grateful recognition Judea and Sanaria were added to Agrippa's dominions.

His kingdom, uniting the various tetrachies of Herod's three sons, was now even vaster in area than that of his grandfather, Herod. But he was a very different type of man. In spite of his Roman associations, he possessed strong Jewish sentiment and decided to become the father instead of the tyrant of his people.

The wild habits of his youth he laid aside and he hung up in the Temple the golden chain that replaced his prison fetters, as a mark of thankfulness and humility. His rule was a golden age for Judea—all too brief. Though partly of alien blood, the Pharisees said on one occasion, "Thou art our brother, Agrippa." He was amiable and benevolent and grateful, and showed a forgiving disposition. His magnanimity changed opponents into friends.

He entered with hearty enthusiasm into all the ceremonial of Judaism. The Mishna speaks of him in high praise and tells how he carried the first fruit offering to the Temple with his own hand. He looked after the interests of Jews and Judaism at home and abroad. He removed some statues that had been wantonly put in a Phoenician synagogue. Still, outside of Judea he permitted the amphitheatre with gladiatorial combats, and bestowed gifts upon many Grecian cities and upon some heathen towns of Palestine.

The Sanhedrin was invested by him with new power and dignity, and under the wise presidency of Rabbi Gamaliel, hazaken (the elder), a descendant of Hillel, many liberal laws were made. The same consideration was shown to heathen as to Jewish poor. So esteemed was Gamaliel that the saying arose, "When Rabbi Gamaliel died, the glory of the Torah passed away." One of his teachings ran: "Procure thyself an instructor; avoid the possibility of doubt; and do not tithe by conjecture."

Agrippa would fain have furthered the hopes of Israel in making them more independent of Rome, but he was watched by envious eyes. A conference of local vassal kings, called by him, was broken up by the suspicious Syrian governor. He wished to strengthen Judea's fortifications, but again the Syrian governor induced the emperor to stop the work. In fact, many jealous Romans feared that a longer continuance of his kingdom might develop it into a menace against Rome. So the assassin's knife was called into play. Suddenly at a moment of triumphal glory, he was stricken down at the early age of forty-five. The kind-

ly disposed emperor would have given the kingdom to his son, but was dissuaded by his counselors. The old regime of the hated procurators was restored once more.

It is true this son, called Agrippa II. was given a small dominion, but with little independent power. He was also entrusted with the superintendence of the Temple which he did not always exercise wisely. He was well-disposed to the Jews, to whom he hardly belonged and even used his influence at court to intercede in their favor. He imported wood for the Temple use and employed the discharged workmen of the finished Herodian Temple to pave the city with marble. He did all he could in his impotent way to prevent hostilities between Rome and Judea, but his training had been Roman and his spirit was pagan. His was a weak nature entirely under the control of his sister Berenice, a woman of questionable reputation and later a favorite of the Roman emperor Titus, who played so large a part in Judea's last days.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Agrippa II. continued to hold his petty kingdom for some time after Judea had fallen, and lived to read Josephus' history about it. He was the Agrippa before whom Paul appeared, and to whom he said, "With little wouldst thou win me over to be a Christian."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL.

Before taking up the continuation of the story of Judea under the procurators—pleasingly interrupted by the reign of Agrippa—let us take another survey of Jews and Judaism in lands outside of Palestine. The voluntary dispersion still went on. The Jews were now scattered over all the Roman Empire, which included Asiatic and European lands from Syria to Spain. We find our ancestors at the beginning of the Christian era in Arabia and in Parthia, an Asiatic kingdom south of The Caspian. But, however widely scattered, religion was the bond of union and Jerusalem the spiritual centre. From distant lands many would from time to time make pilgrimages to the Temple.

The attitude of the heathen world was on the whole not friendly to the Jews. They were disliked for their aloofness, their stern morality, their sobriety, and their material success; while their exclusiveness—partly but not wholly justifiable—led to the erroneous supposition that they were inimical to mankind. But the Jews of the Diaspora were less exclusive and more tolerant than those of Judea. This was particularly true of Alexandria. There existed here—apart from occasional outbursts of racial antagonism among the populace, a cordial interchange of ideas in which the Jews met the Greeks more than half way.

They admired the culture of the educated Greek and felt drawn toward the lofty philosophy of Plato. The broadening effect of this infusion of Greek

thought, gave to Judaism in Alexandria a distinct character, and it came to be known as Hellenistic Judaism (Hellas, Greece), and its espousers, Hellenistic Jews. We have used the term Hellenist in an earlier chapter, in a bad sense as descriptive of Jews who yielded to those Greek influences that were pagan to the detriment of Judaism. Here we apply the term in a good sense to those who were open to Greek influences that were intellectual, to the advantage of Judaism. We have already marked the effect of Greek thought in some of the Apocryphal writings, particularly in the "Wisdom of Solomon." Appreciating the metaphysics of the Greek philosophers, they were anxious to bring home to the Greeks the spiritual and moral truths of Judaism.

But how to present the revelation of the Law and of the Prophets with an authority that would win the conviction of the Greeks? In their fervor to make proselytes to the Law of Moses, they resorted to a strange expedient. There existed among the Greeks prophetesses called Sybils, who were supposed to foretell in mysterious oracles the destinies of nations. So some Jewish writers cast the Bible teachings of God and morality in the form of Sybilline oracles. Like the Bible prophets, these Jewish Sybilline writers, warned those who followed false views and bad lives and promised salvation to those who accepted the law of the God of Israel. Doubtless these writings exerted a salutary influence on many Greeks.

The Hellenists went so far as to try to prove from Jewish Scriptures many of the loftier ideas of Greek philosophy. In this way Judaism was represented as

anticipating the highest knowledge of the time. It must be confessed that this reconciliation of Judaism and Greek philosophy was occasionally forced. The attempt was also made to explain every law allegorically, as though intended to convey ideas other than those that appeared on the surface. Thus they read their philosophy into the Bible as the later Greeks read theirs into the Iliad. Indeed the habit of reading the science of the day into the old Bible books still prevails. This poetic explaining away of many injunctions of Scripture led in some instances to their actual neglect. The complete abrogation of the Law by the Christians in the second stage of their development, under the leadership of Paul of Tarsus, received its defence from this tendency of the Hellenistic Jews.

The statement is often made that Jews discourage proselytes. It is certainly not true of the Alexandrian Jews who were most zealous in their missionary efforts. The translation of their Scriptures into Greek, the presentation of the message of their faith in the form of Sybilline oracles, and the allegorizing away of many of their ceremonials were all different means employed for the bringing of Judaism to the Gentile. Just when the Jewish State was dying, many heathens were seeking this Faith of their own accord, attracted by its ethics and repelled by heathen uncleanness. Philo says that the adoption of Judaism by many heathens immediately resulted in a marked moral improvement in their lives. The number of female proselytes in Damascus and Asia Minor steadily grew. A zealous Jewish missionary converted Helen, the queen of Adrabene, a province on the Tigris, and all her

family. She made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, sent valuable gifts to the Temple, and helped the people in time of famine.

So, although Judaism was a faith that imposed on its followers severe restraints and, although the Jews were a very small people, whom some heathens despised—still, many more knocked at its doors to be admitted into the fold, even for fifty years after its Temple was destroyed and its nationality overthrown—tragedies which we shall presently have to tell. Yes, many of the very people that overthrew it—the Romans—accepted the Jewish faith. Josephus tells us how enthusiastically these converts observed the Sabbath, the Festivals, and the dietary laws. The Emperor Domitian made severe laws against proselytes to Judaism, in order to discourage the practice. Indeed, a cousin of the emperor, who was also a senator and consul, accepted Judaism together with his wife. So near was our faith being installed on the throne of the Roman Empire!

But ultimately the stream of converts was diverted to the new faith, born of Judaism, Christianity—more particularly as in its second stage it sent its missionaries to the heathen world and told them that acceptance of Jesus as saviour and divinity would bring them salvation without conforming to the burdensome Jewish Law; that the advent of Jesus abrogated the Law, became a doctrine of the new religion. This Christianity on easy terms brought thousands to the fold. This idea was emphasized by Saul (Greek, Paul), at first the opponent of the Christians, but later their most eloquent advocate. This decisive declaration ultimate-

ly accepted by these Jewish Christians who first clung to the Law, made Christianity a new religion for the heathen world. For this reason we might call Paul the real father of Christianity. The followers of the two religions had now become people of two different races—Judaism followed almost exclusively by Semitic Jews, Christianity by Aryans—Greeks, Romans and other Europeans. This racial distinction became the final barrier which completely separated them.

CHAPTER XVII.

PHILO.

We are now ready to consider one to whom frequent reference has been made—the greatest of the Alexandrian Jews, styled the “noblest Judean of his age”—Philo Judæus. He was born in Alexandria of good family, about 15 B. C. E. His brother, Alexander, was given the influential post of Alabarch, farmer of taxes. Both received the best education the times afforded and were men of broad culture. Philo early showed a taste for literature in general, and philosophy in particular. His circumstances enabled him to devote himself to a literary life, for which he was peculiarly gifted. His warm interest in the cause of his people has already been shown in his journey to Rome as one of the ambassadors to plead before the Emperor Caligula against their persecution. Of this whole incident he himself gives a graphic account in his chronicles of the Jewish events of his time.

A many-sided genius, he was the best exponent of that Hellenistic school that sought to harmonize the principles of Judaism with Greek philosophy. He was thoroughly versed in both. His works, as those of all this school, were written in Greek. In his commentary on Scripture following the allegorical method already referred to, he treats all the incidents in Genesis as symbolic of human development and moral truths. He did not, however, go to the extreme of neglecting Jewish observance on the strength of metaphoric interpretation. Indeed, he even rebuked those who did.

In his interpretation of the Mosaic Law in the Pentateuch, he has the education of the heathen chiefly in mind. He reveals the harmony of its precepts with nature, grouping all duties under the Ten Commandments. He points out with enthusiasm the humanity of the Law, and completely refutes slanders against Judaism by citing examples of its purity, breadth and philanthropy. His contrasts are the severest condemnation of Greek and Roman morals.

In his philosophy he again applies the allegorical, or rather in this case let us say the Midrashic method of the rabbis to the Pentateuch. He attempts to show that the lofty ideas found in the Platonic, Stoic and Neopythagorean philosophies were already taught in the Jewish Scripture. From Moses, the teacher of mankind, the Greek philosophers derived their wisdom. From the Mosaic Law comes the highest and truest religious revelation. Thus he endeavored to win Jews to an appreciation of Greek literature, and Greeks to an appreciation of Jewish Scripture.

A thorough monotheist, his ideas of God show the

philosophic influence. God alone is perfect, unchangeable, devoid of all qualities and undefinable, but at the same time combining all perfections. Absolutely perfect, He cannot come in contact with matter. The gap seemed too vast from God to material things, which were considered unclean and engendering sin. So Philo taught that God acted on the world by intermediary causes or powers which he first created. These powers he calls Ideas, or again, Angels. In Greek he styles them *Logoi* (plural of *logos*, having the two meanings—Reason and Word). So God then created all things through Reason or Wisdom. At times he speaks of these *Logoi* as distinct from God, and at times as emanations from Him. The essence of all of this he calls THE LOGOS—a product of, or figuratively, a son of active divine intelligence. With reason then expressed in language, “the Word,”—God created the world.

It is true that we find the Scripture (See Proverbs viii), and more particularly the Apocryphal Book, Ecclesiasticus, personifying Wisdom, God calling the world into being through its means. The Targum (Chaldaic translation of the Bible) identifies the Word of God with the Divine Presence, but in this case it is used rather as a figure of speech. Philo goes a step further, and almost depicts it as a distinct entity.

So far Philo; but later Christian mystics put a strange construction on his theory. They declared that the Logos, or Word of God, actually became flesh—a *human being*. It was then but a step to declare that Jesus was that Logos, or human being—that he was

the son of God, not in the Greek, metaphoric sense, but in the literal sense—that Jesus was therefore a species of divinity too. It was not till Christianity's second stage that Jesus of Nazareth was in this way raised from a real man into an imaginary divinity. Thus the link with Judaism was broken in the rejection of its fundamental principle of monotheism—the belief in but One Indivisible God.

Philo is, of course, only unconsciously the influence of this doctrinal change, for he did not come in contact with the new sect of Christians and never mentions it, and this idea developed after his day.

One word more on his philosophy. Evil, he said, is derived from Matter, which he conceived as lifeless, formless, and not of God. (This is not our modern idea of matter). The Soul is an emanation of God—like the Ideas or Angels, but the souls attracted by the sensuous descend into mortal bodies. This earthly body is the cause of evil. Hence, man should try to suppress his desires and passions and earthly longings. For this man needs the help of God. The wise and virtuous are uplifted out of themselves to a closer knowledge of God, and God's spirit dwells in them. This is highest happiness. In this philosophy are then contained all the inspiring elements of lofty religion.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

For a survey of Philo's teaching put in a popular form, read "Florilegium Philonis," by Montefiore, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. VII; in the same volume, "Philo Concerning the Contemplative Life," Conybeare; and in Vol. V, "Latest Researches on Philo," Cohn.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE LAST PROCURATORS.

PROCURATORS	YEAR	ROMAN EMPERORS	YEAR
Fadus.....	44	Claudius.....	41
Tiberus Alexander .	45	“	“
Ventidius Cumanus	48	“	“
Felix.....	52	Nero.....	54
Festus.....	60	“	“
Albinus.....	62	“	“
Gessius Florus.....	66	“	“
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Fall of Jerusalem.....	70	Vespasian	68-79

Agrippa's death was a signal for general indignities by Greeks and Romans throughout Palestine against the people who had lost their defender. Burdensome taxation would have been borne; but all the procurators once more placed over them seemed actuated by the wanton purpose of trampling upon everything the Jews held sacred, holding their religion up to scorn, and forcing them into rebellion through madness of despair.

Fadus, the first of the second group, was the most harmless. A deluded enthusiast named Theudas claiming to be the Messiah and to be gifted with supernatural powers, was apprehended and put to death together with many of his followers.

Tiberius Alexander, the next procurator, was a nephew of Philo, but unlike his uncle, had abandoned Judaism, and therefore was a very unfit appointee. He found it necessary to put to death two sons of Judas, the Galilean. These Zealots were the advance guard of a revolution. Rebellions continued to grow in grav-

ity with each successive rule. During the administration of Ventidius Cumanus a rebellion broke out through the wanton indecency of a Roman soldier during the Passover celebration. In putting down the insurrection Cumanus ordered many thousands slain. Once more the Zealots started to lead an attack against Samaria to punish the murder of some of their brethren, for the base Cumanus allowed marauders to rove unmolested on the payment of sufficient bribe. Against the Zealots, however, he led an army, for their offenses were political, not moral. Through the intervention of young Agrippa, Cumanus was banished.

But the worst Procurator was to follow—Felix. He goaded the Jews beyond endurance. Rebellion was now rife and it could no longer be quelled. All the appointees to the procuratorship were bad, but the appointment of this man as Judea's ruler was an outrage. He was a freedman, i. e., one from the low classes. His lust and tyranny in public and private life revealed his base origin. How natural that Judah should come to hate Rome when she was represented by such hateful creatures? How natural that the rebellious element—the Zealots—should grow in number and determination. These Felix punished with cruel recklessness, resorting often to treachery to entrap them. By such doing he fomented instead of decreasing the evil.

For a still more fanatical group now made their appearance—outcome of these unhappy times. They were called *Sicarii*, from the short daggers, *sicae*, with which they secretly slew their opponents. These po-

litical assassinations made Jerusalem unsafe. Felix was even unscrupulous enough to make use of these deperate men to slay the High Priest Jonathan, whose only crime was that he begged him to administer his office more worthily, and whose only crime against the Sicarii that he did not sanction their outrages. These wild, misguided men were religious enthusiasts of a frenzied sort, for wanton injustice breeds such types. Whenever they gathered with crowds of deluded followers in the wilderness, claiming a divine call to overthrow Rome, Felix always had his cohorts ready to hew them down. He knew no remedies other than bloodshed. In one instance where many of the followers were slain, while the leader,—an Egyptian Jew—escaped, some awaited his return as a Messiah who would deliver them.

Gradually a large part of the nation was imbued with the spirit of rebellion. The mismanagement of Felix brought also conflict among the priests and quarrels for the tithes. Conflict arose in Caesaria between Syrians and Jews as to civic rights and privileges. Felix partially decided in favor of the Syrians and again resorted to slaughter to quell the disturbance, which only tended to increase it. By favoritism and bribery the Jews of Caesaria were deprived of civic rights, which they had hitherto possessed and were given a subordinate standing. At last this creature was recalled in 60 by Emperor Nero.

His successor was Festus, who meant well, but who could do little in this demoralized state. Things had gone too far to be smoothed over. The upheaval had

to come. The Sicarii continued their assassinations, regarding all the moderates as their enemies.

At the death of Festus and after an interval of anarchy, Albinus—a second Felix—was appointed—a public plunderer, a bribe-taker from all parties. Well-to-do criminals could buy their freedom from him; only the poor remained in prison. The High-priesthood at this time was held by a most unscrupulous man, Ananias, who took by violence the tithes of the priests. At last Albinus secretly joined the robber bands of Sicarii. When recalled in 62, he maliciously opened all the prisons and set the malefactors free to fill the country with lawless men. Of course, this made it still harder for his successor and for the people. How the lives and fates and fortunes of these hapless Judeans were bandied about to gratify the wanton lust of these tyrants and scoundrels!

The last procurator, Gessius Florus, held the post till 66 and then the storm burst. For the climax of outrageous rule was reached in him. Josephus says that compared with him Albinus was a law-abiding citizen and to be praised as a benefactor! Need we add more? He did not as Albinus even hide his crimes. His plunderings were conducted by wholesale. He was verily a partner of robbers. Surely the time for Judah to strike a blow for freedom had come.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

A reference to Felix will be found in the New Testament. Paul appeared before him. (See Act, xxiii-24.)

CHAPTER XX.

JUDEA'S WAR WITH ROME.

When Florus after robbing the people began openly to rob the Temple, the last thread of endurance snapped. Called in bitter irony a beggar, for whom forsooth alms must be collected, Florus took a bloody revenge. A second wanton attack upon the long suffering people by his arriving cohorts, compelled them to rise against the Roman soldiers in self defense. They gained possession of the Temple Mount and Florus at last, seeing the mischief he had effected, fled to Caesarea. Agrippa tried hard to dissuade the people from a hopeless struggle against Rome, but he was a man without influence. The Temple offerings for the Roman emperor were stopped—that was, so to speak, the official renunciation of their allegiance. The more temperate could not restrain the masses from this determination.

These moderates, who represented the judicious, formed a "Peace Party." Conflict arose between them and the advocates of war, in which Agrippa who aided the former with his troops, had his palace burned and his soldiers put to flight. Soon the fortress towers held by the Roman soldiers had to yield and the garrison was slain. The revolution extended to all the outlying towns in which Jews and Gentiles fought against each other, and spread even so far as Alexandria.

The governor of Syria, Cestius Gallus, thoroughly alarmed, came to Jerusalem with a picked army, but

after a partial success he was forced to retreat. So vigorously was he pursued by these dauntless men, that only by leaving most of his baggage behind him—of great value to the revolutionists—could he escape at all, and then with but a remnant of his army. This unlooked for success left the Peace Party in a hopeless minority. Roman allies could do naught but leave the capital. The Jews now began to organize their forces and some of the highest men in the city led in the defense.

At an assembly of the people Joseph ben Gorion and the High Priest Ananus were given charge of Jerusalem itself. Two men of the high-priestly family were sent to Idumea. In Jerusalem the walls were strengthened and the youths trained for soldiers. JOSEPHUS, a man of but thirty years, later historian of this war and known so far only as a scholar, was sent to Galilee. Here he was to gather an army from among the people and to meet the first brunt of Rome's experienced hosts as they would arrive via Syria. For the time being he was the governor of Galilee and appointed greater and lesser councils to strengthen the fortifications of all the cities. He had further to meet the opposition to his appointment in the province itself, chiefly by one JOHN of GISCHALA, a leader bold and violent. For Josephus was not entirely trusted. His attitude was altogether too moderate to satisfy these determined rebels. In his heart of hearts he realized the impossibility of success. That very conviction at once unfitted him for leadership.

The Emperor Nero, hearing of the defeat of the

governor of Syria, entrusted the task of quelling the rebellion to the experienced general, Vespasian. He at once sent a garrison of six thousand to the important Galilean city, Sepphoris, which took possession before the Jewish army arrived. As the Roman host approached Galilee, Josephus' untrained soldiers retreated to the highlands, leaving the whole Galilean plain in possession of Vespasian without his striking a blow.

Josephus sent word to Jerusalem that if he was to meet the Romans, he must have an army. The request came too late. His troops, such as they were, retired to the fortress of Jotapata, north of Sepphoris. Vespasian appeared before it and a desperate struggle followed. Josephus was a skilful commander and his men showed dauntless courage, but Rome on its side had all the experience of war together with overwhelming numbers. The first attack failed and a siege began. Josephus showed wonderful craft in obtaining food for his garrison and in breaking the force of the Roman battering rams. But these means could only delay the end; they could not change it. The besieged were worn out by sleeplessness and starvation. The wall was scaled when the exhausted watchmen were asleep. All were either slain or sold into slavery. The city and its fortifications were levelled to the ground.

With forty companions escaped to a cave. In the face of surrender, they all decided that they would die by their own hands. Josephus by stratagem managed to escape this fate. He appeared before Vespasian and by adroit flattery was favorably received. He then returned to his camp.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SIEGE.

When Vespasian reached Tiberias, on the Sea of Galilee, the people opened their gates and at the request of Agrippa—who had now wholly thrown in his fortunes with the Romans—they were well treated. In the meantime the army of TITUS, son of Vespasian, took the city of Tarichea.

Glance for a moment at the map, so that a mental picture may be formed of the territory involved in the great struggle: Phoenicia, the Lebanon Mts. and Syria ran across the north. Immediately underneath was the province of Galilee, partly bordering on the Mediterranean and bounded on the east by the province of Gaulonitis and Decopolis, the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee being the dividing line. Batanaea lay to the east again of Gaulonitis. Still farther south was Judea, with the Jordan dividing it from Perea. Idumea lay in the extreme south.

Vespasian was still in the north and next attacked the strong fortress of Gamala in Gaulonitis. But after an entrance was gained into the city, the Jews fought so desperately that the Romans were repulsed with severe loss and for a time were afraid to renew the attack. But on a second determined sally it was taken. At the same time Mount Tabor was taken by a Roman force. There was now left in Galilee only one fortress to be taken—Gischala. This task was entrusted to Titus. Its gates were soon opened, but its controlling

spirit, John of Gischala, with his band of Zealots escaped to Jerusalem. By the end of the year 67 all northern Palestine was in the hands of the Romans.

These defeats brought consternation to Jerusalem. The leaders, who had been taken from the aristocracy, were blamed and deposed. Some were imprisoned and men from the people were put in their place. But the change was not made without bloodshed. Alas, here was the beginning of a civil conflict as well—war within war. Judea's cup of misery was full. John of Gischala, the escaped Zealot, was soon at the head of the extreme fanatic party. Fighting contingents of malcontents came into Jerusalem from all over the country and joined the Zealots, which thus became the ruling power. They threw discretion to the winds. A man of the common people was now chosen as High Priest, though this office had always been in the hands of the aristocracy.

The Idumeans were now invited to enter Jerusalem and join forces with the Zealots. They began at once a bloody attack on the party of law and order. The old leaders, men of high birth, were put to death. Verily it was Judea's reign of terror. After assisting in all this mischief, the Idumeans departed. The new Christian community also left Jerusalem, deserting their brethren in the sore hour of need, and took refuge in a heathen city. The shrewd Vespasian made no haste to attack the Capital, hoping that the opposing parties left to themselves would weaken each other and make his task more easy. He contented himself

with placing fortified garrisons in the chief surrounding places.

In the meantime Nero died, in the year 68. Galba was made emperor only to be murdered a few months after. These events were watched by Vespasian with keen eyes. The man who had the army with him might win the purple. He therefore made a pause in the war.

Another wild Zealot, SIMON BEN GIORA, began a plundering expedition during the cessation of hostilities, carrying devastation wherever he went. In 69, after a year's pause, Vespasian vigorously renewed hostilities by subduing the remaining outlying districts. There was now left for subjugation a few fortresses and the Capital.

Stopped from his robber raids by Vespasian's vigor, Simon ben Giora was now hailed in Jerusalem. Here all was confusion and demoralization. The reckless tyrant of Gischala had indulged in terrible excesses. The people hoped that the admission of Simon would rid them of John's bloodthirsty rule; but there was little choice between them.

Although Vitellius was now made emperor of Rome, the armies in Egypt and Palestine decided to nominate Vespasian. He hastened to Rome, found Vitellius murdered, and his own candidature unopposed. So in the year 70 he was acknowledged emperor by both east and west, and the prosecution of the Judean war was left in the hands of his son, Titus.

In Jerusalem the reign of terror continued. There was now a third war party under one Eliezar. Each

regarded the two others as enemies, and each held a certain portion of the city as jealously against the others as against the Romans. Simon ben Giora held the upper part of the lower city situated on one hill, and the whole of the upper city situated on another hill called Acra. John of Gischala was entrenched in the Temple Mount. Eliezar held the court of the Temple, but soon joined forces with John. In the madness of their folly they played into the hands of the Romans by destroying grain rather than let it fall into the hands of their rivals.

Titus with an immense army appeared before the walls of Jerusalem in the spring of the fatal year 70. Still he by no means carried all before him. When we read of the brave and stubborn resistance of the Jews in spite of the unfortunate conflicts within, we can better realize how successful their resistance might have been had they presented a united front to the enemy.

The situation of the city had its natural advantages. It was built on two hills with a ravine between, while the Temple standing in spacious grounds, surrounded on all sides by strong walls, was a citadel in itself. Attached to it was the castle of Antonia. The upper and lower divisions of the city had their own separate walls, a town's main protection before the days of gunpowder. There was a common wall around both divisions and a third around the suburb, Bezetha.

When the battering rams of Titus began attacking after wall in three places, John and Simon stopped feud and banded together at last to meet the

common enemy. It was only after desperate fighting for very many days that the Romans got possession of the first wall. Five days later the second wall was taken, though the enemy was held back for four days longer. Earth defenses were now built by the legions of Titus against the different fortifications, but no sooner were these built than they fell, undermined by the vigilant Simon and John.

Titus now applied new measures of severity. A stricter siege was maintained. The city was reduced to famine and poor creatures stealing out to gather food were crucified in sight of the defenders. Then he built a wall to shut off all possible escape and so tried to starve them out. The sufferings of the besieged, vividly portrayed by Josephus, were desperate indeed and led to still more desperate remedies.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE FALL OF JERUSALEM.

Titus built new fortifications and this time the attempt to destroy them was not successful. But no sooner had the wall fallen under the catapults shot from the Roman battering rams than a second wall appeared behind it built by the foresight of John of Gischala. After many attempts this wall was scaled.

The Romans reached the Temple walls and took the Antonia tower, which they immediately destroyed.

Yet during all this time the daily sacrifices were continued in the Temple. In the presence of the grim monsters, war and starvation, this religious obligation was not forgotten. A proposition of surrender was made at this dire hour, but they would not yield. It is true Titus chose an unfortunate ambassador—Josephus—who was regarded by the warriors in Jerusalem as a traitor. Do you really think he was?

Now, within the narrower compass of the Temple site, the siege was maintained, though it was but the beginning of the end. First ramparts were erected by Titus against the outer walls; but these walls were so strong that he could only gain admittance by burning down the gates. Terrifically did the Jewish soldiers, wasted by famine, contest every inch of ground, giving to the Romans many a repulse. But overwhelming numbers told. Titus had decided to save the Temple, but his vandal soldiers set it on fire. The attempts of Titus to quench it were in vain. The beautiful structure of marble and gold—monument of Herod's pride—was reduced to ashes. While it was burning the Romans began an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children.

John of Gischala and Simon ben Giora with a small band, now fell back to the last refuge, the upper city. Their request for liberty on condition of surrender was refused. The lower city was now burnt and new ramparts built against the last stronghold. Yet it took some weeks before entrance was finally forced, and the

Romans continued their savage work of burning and massacre.

The city was razed to the ground—a few gates of Herod's palace and a piece of wall were alone left standing. The survivors were sent to labor in unwholesome mines to gather wealth for their despoilers. Some were reserved for Roman sport in the amphitheatre. John, discovered in a subterranean vault and begging like a craven for mercy, was imprisoned for life. Simon ben Giora graced the Roman triumph.

Thus fell the city of Jerusalem—the religious capital of the world—in the year 70 A. C. E., on the same date it is said—the 9th of Ab—on which it had fallen nearly seven hundred years earlier under the attacks of the Babylonians. So the Fast of Ab commemorates the double tragedy. But the work of conquest and the barbaric rejoicings, consisting of forced gladiatorial combats between Jewish prisoners, together with games and triumphs, continued some two years longer. There were still three outlying strongholds to be conquered—Herodium, Macharus, on the other side of the Dead Sea, and Masada, far to the south. The first two soon fell, but Masada offered a stubborn resistance which its natural position favored. Under Eliezar and some Sicarii the dauntless bravery of Jerusalem and Jotapata was repeated. They determined not to die by the swords of the Romans, so when the soldiers entered they found the little band all slain by their own hands.

On the site of the old Temple was built another, dedicated to Jupiter Capitolinus, and, with a refinement of

cruelty, the Jews throughout the Roman dominions had to pay toward its maintenance the taxes they had hitherto paid to the support of their own beloved sanctuary. Thus fell the Israelitish nation that under varied fortunes had continued unbroken, except during the Babylonian captivity, since the days of Saul, i. e., for over a thousand years.

Judea remained a separate Roman province, but was no longer a home for the people whose possession it once was. So completely was it levelled to the ground that there was nothing left to make those who came there believe it had once been inhabited. Rebuilt at a later day, even the name was changed to Aelia Capitolina. But great names cannot so easily be erased by the ruthless hand of man.

What was now to become of the remaining Jews? What was their status in the world? Nation, Temple, independence were gone. Gone too were their arms, their means, their nobility, and all political power. Would it not seem that this must be the end, that their name and identity must be ultimately merged with their surroundings? Such had been the fate of other nations as completely conquered—Ammon, Moab, Assyria, Phoenicia. But Israel was made of different stuff. Its epitaph was not yet to be written.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WORKS OF JOSEPHUS.

What literature did this sad period produce? There was neither heart nor leisure to turn to poetry or philosophy, or even to write a second "Lamentations." But in the prosaic field of history some important works were produced by one individual, who hardly deserves to be included in the fold of Israel—Josephus.

After the war he was satisfied to receive favor from the hand of the emperor who had overthrown the Jewish State—Vespasian—and even appended the emperor's first name, Flavius, to his own—a piece of flattery, under the circumstances, wholly contemptible. When we see him living at ease on a pension given by Rome while his own brethren were working in the lead mines of Egypt or glutting the slave-markets of Europe, we cannot but contrast his character with that of Jeremiah who had been placed in similar circumstances some centuries earlier.

In the last days of the first nationality, when Babylonia was then thundering against the gates of Jerusalem, Jeremiah belonged to the Peace Party of his day, not for reasons of expediency such as actuated Josephus, but from intense religious conviction. (See Vol. III., "People of the Book," Chap. xxviii.) Nebuchadnezzar, regarding this attitude as friendly toward Babylon, had offered to Jeremiah ease and liberty after Judah was laid in the dust. But he scorned

to receive gifts from the enemies of his country or to enjoy benefits through their misfortune. Though they had rejected his advice and even persecuted him for it, he made their lot his own, miserable though it was. Like Moses, he died in the wilderness with the generation who had brought that fate upon themselves, because they lacked his faith.

But it is not the character, but the works of Josephus that we would discuss now, for he was an undoubted scholar. Though in his last years he may have lived as pagan, he certainly wrote as Jew. He loved his people, but lacked the magnanimity to share their misfortunes. This was his fatal weakness. Posterity is grateful to Josephus for his *History of the Jews*, called "Antiquities of the Jews" in twenty volumes, the writing of which may have formed the chief occupation of his later years. Perhaps he felt that he might yet serve Israel's cause in this way. He begins his chronicle with the Bible records, which he embellishes with many a Midrashic story, and carries the narrative right down to the procuratorship of Florus. Written for Greek and Roman readers, he sought to give them a better and truer estimate of his people. Indeed, in all his works he never loses an opportunity to defend the honor of Israel. In his next work, "Wars of the Jews," in seven books, he begins with Antiochus Epiphanes, thus duplicating part of his history. But the first two books are but introductory to his real theme, the war with Rome. He presents a vivid picture of the last scenes of Judea's death struggle, of part of which he was an eye witness and in part

an actual participator. It is carefully and skilfully compiled and as a contemporary record it is invaluable.

It was first written in his mother tongue, Aramaic, and later rewritten in Greek. The work was endorsed by Vespasian, Titus and Agrippa. It may be said that such a man was not of fine enough character to be an impartial historian; but impartial historians are quite a modern institution. All ancient historians took great liberties both with events and numbers, and put speeches of their own composition in the mouths of the leading characters.

In connection with this work we may mention his autobiography, covering chiefly his achievements as commander-in-chief in Galilee in 66.

To his merit be it further said he gladly became the advocate of his people in the land of the Gentile, and jealously guarded their reputation. Against the traducer, Apion, an Egyptian grammarian, he launched a work in Israel's defense, "Josephus Against Apion," in the form of a letter to a friend. It is in two books. In the first he replies to other traducers of the Jewish people. For the bad fashion had come into vogue of inventing absurd slanders against the Jews—a fashion, by the way, that has not yet passed away. This kind of work is called an Apology. Further, he wrote a monograph on "The Martyrdom of the Maccabees."

His works are couched in simple and attractive style. Written in Greek, they have been translated into all tongues. They were read much by Christians of the Middle Ages, who regarded him as a second

Livy; but till recent years he has been neglected by his own people. But then so was Philo.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

A very poor Hebrew rendering was made of the works of Josephus and was styled "Yosippon."

Among writers in defense and appreciation of the Jews of this day were Alexander Polyhistor, Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo, the geographer.

BOOK III.
THE TALMUDIC ERA

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CHAPTER XXIV.

JOCHANAN BEN ZAKKAI.

Because the Jews now belonged to no land, therefore they belonged to all lands. They were cosmopolitans, denizens, if not citizens of the world. To follow their history henceforth we shall have to turn to all the settled parts of the globe. What now became the link to hold together their widely scattered members and preserve them from being absorbed by their surroundings? Their religion. Religions outlive States and spiritual bonds are stronger than temporal. But now that Judaism's centre, the Temple, was no more, now that the sacred capital, Jerusalem, where according to the Law they could alone conduct their sacrificial worship was lost—how could they preserve their continuity and what would become of their priesthood? Just here will we witness the wonderful adaptability of Judaism in the hands of this deathless race. It only awaited a genius to revive the Faith, apparently in the throes of death, and to endow it with new strength and vitality. The hero who undertook this sacred task was named JOCHANAN BEN ZAKKAI.

Jochanan ben Zakkai was the President of the Sanhedrin, and already when war was brewing, became the exponent of the Peace Party—for he saw that the madness of the Zealots in blindly plunging the country into war could only end in ruin. He may have felt too that the fulfillment of Israel's mission did not rely on national independence and that it could preach its mes-

sage in a way other than in bloody conflict. So when the war was at its height, he escaped from Jerusalem in a coffin, since the Zealots treated all peace advocates as traitors. Welcomed by Vespasian, who saw the value of so influential a pleader for surrender, he was allowed to ask a favor. His reply showed that he was not of the Josephus, but of the Jeremiah type. He asked naught for himself, but pleaded for the privilege of establishing an ACADEMY, where the principles of Judaism might be taught. This small request was granted, perhaps contemptuously at its apparent insignificance. Yet by that grant Judaism was enabled to continue its development—aye, to outlive the great Roman Empire at whose mercy it now stood.

Jamnia was chosen, a place near the Mediterranean and not far from Joppa. Here came many who, being of the conciliatory party, were left free and untouched by Rome at the close of the war. Here Jochanan ben Zakkai summoned a Sanhedrin and by a bold stroke decided to continue the authoritative powers of that body in spite of tradition that to be effective, it must sit in the "hewn stone hall" of the Jerusalem Temple.

But he took a more daring step still. According to the Law, now that the Holy City was taken, sacrifice was no longer possible; therefore Jochanan ben Zakkai declared that it was no longer indispensable; saying, charity is a substitute for sacrifice. Prayer, which had so far only been regarded as an accompaniment to sacrifice was now treated as an independent mode of wor-

ship. Thus does genius adapt itself to altered conditions.

The change was revolutionary and marked a new era in Judaism's development. The epoch of the Priest was over, the Altar was outlived—the ideal of the Prophets was attained. Again necessity was the teacher and adversity was found to “have a jewel in its head.” Furthermore the creation of a centre of Jewish authority outside of Jerusalem freed Judaism from bondage to a particular locality. Its jurisdiction was now confined neither within municipal nor national confines. The whole earth could become its legitimate home. This also had its moral value. To the simple-minded it made clearer the idea that God was manifest everywhere, that “the heavens was verily His throne and the earth His footstool.” It gave tangible application to the text, “In every place where I cause my name to be remembered, I will come unto thee and bless thee.”

So the continuance of Judaism after the overthrow of the Temple, the loss of the sacred capital and the Holy Land, after the dispersion of the Jews throughout the world, made it more manifest that it was indeed a universal Faith. Perhaps then even in this sad tragedy we may discern the hand of Providence.

It is true that some pious souls took a disconsolate view of the outlook and, renouncing the world's joys, gave themselves up to ascetic lives of penitence. A few drifted toward the new Christian sect which was now severing all relation with Judaism, thinking it doomed. But under the guidance of Jochanan ben Zakkai the

great majority faced the future more hopefully and more bravely. The land was gone, but the religion was saved. Henceforth its rallying centre was to be—not a *Temple*, but a *Book*.

We have already seen that the Scribes interpreted the Bible in a way to derive from it new laws to meet new needs. These deductions grew into a Second Law, more voluminous than the first. The patient evolving of this Law to meet all religious social and economic requirements of their altered life became now the chief work of the Jamnia Academy and other schools that sprang from it. To this work of laying bare "the whole duty of man" the scholars now devoted themselves and regarded it as sacred as divine worship. "The study of the Law," said they, "outweighs all virtues." The first order of these great expounders were called TANAIM, which means teachers, and their decisions were called HALACHATH. Very precious did the students who sat at the feet of the sages treasure the Halachath (for they were contained in no book) and handed them down from generation to generation.

The people at large now learned to look to the Jamnian Sanhedrin as their authority in all religious duties and for guidance in varied perplexities. In those days there was no fixed calendar; the new month was ascertained by watching the heavens for the New Moon, and from its advent the Sanhedrin decided the festivals of each month for the community. The New Moon was announced from place to place by fire signals on the hills. These could not reach distant places outside of

Judea and in some cases the signals were tampered with. So, as there was a doubt of one day as to the New Moon's appearance, they introduced the custom of observing an additional day of each festival.

Jochanan ben Zakkai, then, revealed his greatness in boldly abrogating institutions that had lost their application with the Temple's fall, bridging the transition between epochs just as Samuel had done in his day. His great personality strengthened the union between the dispersed Jews. Further, like his master Hillel, he combined in his character gentleness and firmness; and like him, too, he also exercised an elevating influence on his pupils by his ethical teachings. He showed them how to search the Scriptures, to discover its noblest lessons. This was distinct from that branch of Bible study already referred to, enabling the student to evolve new rules and new observances. The latter was judicial, the former homiletic. These gradually came to form the two great divisions of the scholarly activities of the Rabbis, the judicial division called Halacha (legal decision), the ethical styled AGADA, which really means narrative—for many a story, anecdote, moral maxim or bit of history would be brought in to illustrate a legal point or to relieve the tension of argument by a pleasing diversion. So Agada meant much miscellaneous material and included everything not strictly judicial.

Here are some of the maxims of Jochanan ben Zakkai:

"Fear God as much as you fear man." Try and think all that is implied in this admonition.

“No iron tool was to be used on the altar, suggesting that religion’s mission is peace.”

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

The pupil has already been made familiar with the prophetic views on sacrifice (see *People of the Book*, vol. III). Here follow some of the advanced opinions of the Rabbis:

“The humble-minded is considered by God to have offered all the sacrifices, for it is said that the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit.”

“Acts of justice are more meritorious than all the sacrifices. Unless the mind is purified, the sacrifice is useless; it may be thrown to the dogs.”

“He who engages in the study of the Law, requires neither burnt offering nor meal offering.”

“A day in thy courts is better than a thousand.” Psalm lxxiv. is thus explained: God said to David, “I prefer thy sitting and studying before me to the thousands of burnt offerings which thy son Solomon will offer on the altar.”

“He who prays is considered as pious as if he had built an altar and offered sacrifices upon it.”

“As the Altar wrought atonement during the time of the Temple, so after its destruction, the Table.”

With the abolition of sacrifice the Paschal Lamb was indicated only in a symbolic way on the Passover table.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE PALESTINIAN ACADEMIES.

Jamnia was the first of many Palestinian schools; one was located at Sepphoris, another at Tiberias, both in Galilee; another at Lydda in the south, not far from the Mediterranean. So the good work grew, and under sadder auspices the thread of life was taken up again. A new royalty, so to speak, was created in Israel. The first literal royalty of the House of Judah had been overthrown by Babylon seven hundred years earlier. After the Restoration, the Priests became the monarchs of the State, exercising regal powers. Now in the Dispersion the Teacher was King. Indeed he was called a Prince (NASI).

He was the head of the Academy, whose sway was voluntarily yet gladly accepted in matters both religious and civil (as far as the management of internal affairs was granted) by the congregations formed in Rome, Babylonia, Greece, Egypt and the Parthian lands.

The first Nasi or Patriarch at Jamnia was Rabbi Gamaliel II., of the family of Hillel, for Jochanan ben Zakkai had held a position *sui generis* demanded by the exigencies of the time. But it was the wish of all that the official office should remain in the House of Hillel.

Gamaliel was so conscientious that in farming his

estate he would take no interest. He showed both astronomical and mathematical knowledge in the regulation of the Jewish calendar. He was a stern man, but these troublous times needed a firm hand, religiously as well as politically, for it was a period of unrest; the air was full of schemes and fantastic notions. Even so, he was perhaps too severe, and for a brief period during his thirty years of Patriarchate, he was actually impeached. One indication of his severity was his frequent imposition of *Nidui*—excommunication. The person so condemned had to stand aloof from the community and live as one in mourning. He was ostracised until the ban was removed.

As in the days when the Temple stood, there were still two parties—not Pharisees and Sadducees now, but Hillelites and Shammaites. In most instances the decisions of the School of Hillel, the more liberal party, prevailed. Rabbi Gamaliel, however, endeavored to place himself above party, as the leader should.

The following incidents will show the temper of these Jewish scholars: One Akabiah ben Mahalallel was asked to recede from a particular decision. It was even intimated by some that if he would yield, he would be made Ab Beth Din (Vice-President, next in order to the Nasi). To this suggestion he answered, "I would rather be a fool all my life than a rogue for one hour." Is not that magnificent? Living aloof and asked by his son for a letter of recommendation to his

colleagues, the stern father refused. "Thy own works must recommend thee."

Another famous teacher was Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, who opened the school at Lydda. His weakness lay in the fact that he would never trust his own judgment to deduce a rule. He accepted and taught only what he had learned on the authority of his teachers. That type of man has its value in the world and is like the priest who treasures past traditions. But we need originators too who boldly open up new highways; for if we mistrusted our own powers altogether and walked only in the old paths, knowledge would not grow and the world would not advance.

In contrast, let us single out a more interesting figure, a man who left his impress on his age—Rabbi JOSHUA BEN HANANIAH. Broad, versatile and gifted, he as a youth had been a chorister in the Temple, now laid waste. Like a true genius, he broke through many of the disadvantages that handicapped him and became one of the Tanäim and the founder of a new academy at Bekiim. He was miserably poor and eked out a scanty existence as a needle-maker. For these great teachers received no emolument for their labors in the religious Academy. It was a service of love. They followed the principle laid down by Rabbi Zadoc, "Do not use the Law as a crown to shine therewith or a spade to dig therewith." Rabbi Joshua was, however, so severely plain that a Roman Emperor's daughter, combining at once a compliment and an insult, asked

why so much wisdom should be deposited in so homely a vessel. Tradition says he advised her to put her father's wine in golden jars with a lamentable result, to prove that good wisdom, like good wine, may be best preserved in plain receptacles.

Rabbi Joshua lacked the presumed advantage of many of the scholars in not belonging to the Jewish aristocracy; he was a man of the "common people." Yet that ultimately became to him a source of power as, being closer to the masses, he was the better able to influence them, and he helped to bring the upper and lower classes of society closer together. By his gentleness and moderation he prevented many a split in Judaism that often threatened when divergence of view reached the danger point.

Although, like Gamaliel, a great mathematician and astronomer, he was modest and obedient and submitted to a humiliating ordeal imposed by the stern Nasi because of a mistaken calculation as to the date of a festival. Such example by a great teacher was most beneficial on the people at large.

Very valuable to the cause too was his shrewd common sense that exposed the folly of extreme and fantastic views. "The Law," said he, "was not revealed to angels but to human beings." Some misguided pietists would not partake of wine or meat because, now that the Temple had fallen, they could not be offered on its altar. "Why not," said he, "abstain also from bread and water since they too were used in the

sacrificial service?" Nothing like ridicule at times to explode fallacies.

Most important perhaps of all his service was his endeavor to close the breach between Israel and the Romans, which the unforgiving Shammaites would have widened. He advised a graceful submission to the inevitable. In consequence he enjoyed the confidence of the Roman rulers. Like Jochanan ben Zakkai, he turned out to be the man of the hour; and when a little later Israel again sailed into stormy seas, he was called to the helm.

Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisha deserves a brief mention as one of the great Tanäim of this age who, avoiding strained interpretation, explained the Law with logical common-sense. He gladly devoted his wealth to the maintenance of girls orphaned by the war. He too founded a School and was destined, alas, to die a martyr's death.

These men assured the continuity of their holy work by training students in the exploration of the Law and transmitting to them the Halachath (decisions) that they thus far deduced. Declared proficient, they ordained them as sages by the ceremony of *Semicha* ("laying on of hands"). This gave them right of membership in the Sanhedrin and certain judicial functions and also the title of RABBI, introduced after the Temple's fall of Jochanan ben Zakkai.

Outside of Judea—in the Diaspora—schools were also being established in Babylon, Parthia, Asia Minor

and Egypt. In Alexandria a modest academy replaced the pretentious Temple of happier days. But all turned to Jamnia where the Sanhedrin met as the centre of religious authority. It was for the time being their spiritual capital. To the presiding Nasi, Rome granted some civil jurisdiction in the administration of internal Jewish affairs. So the Sanhedrin was still quite a House of Legislature in its way.

Here were regulated the institutions of Judaism and here was now more completely formulated the RITUAL OF PRAYER already inaugurated in the Synagogues while the Temple stood. Here is its outline.

The Shema ("Hear, O Israel") was the centre of the first division of the service. It was preceded by two benedictions, the first expressing God's providence seen in Nature, suitably varied for morning and evening service; the second God's love for Israel manifested in the bestowal of the Law. The Shema was followed by another benediction voicing gratitude for divine redemption. The second division of the service was the Prayer proper (*Tefillah*), containing a set form of praises at the opening and close, with the central part movable to fit the different occasions of week-days, Sabbath and Holy Days. The third section of the service was the reading from the Pentateuch and the Prophets.

The Reader was no special functionary, but any Israelite could "stand before the Ark" where the scrolls were placed and read the service. Here again pre-

vailed the idea that religious service was not to be paid for. Prayer for the restoration of Land and Temple was a fixed feature of every service. Perpetually to commemorate the Temple's loss by outward signs became a duty in which patriotism and religion were blended. The fasts instituted in Babylon for the fall of the first Temple were reinstated now to commemorate the downfall of the second.

As may be well understood, a long and disastrous war had demoralized the masses, especially the country folk. The educated classes rather held aloof from the Am'Haaretz (the ignorant masses). This is rather surprising on the part of the scholars, otherwise so conscientious and so benevolent. But the times were rude and ignorance usually went hand in hand with many evil practises.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIANITY.

In the meantime the new religion that had sprung from Judaism was entering its second stage of development. We have seen how the mixture of pagan ideas tended to separate Jews from Christians theologically. We will now see how the trend of events tended to separate them socially. There were still two Christ-

ian sects—the pagan Christians to whom Jesus was the Son of God, whose blood shed on the cross was an atonement for the sins of mankind and whose coming abrogated the Law. These Gentile Christians were called Hellenists, as most of them were first Greeks. These naturally had small sympathy with the Jews in spite of the fact that it was the lofty morality of the Hebrew Scriptures that formed the backbone of the new Faith.

On the other hand there were the Jewish Christians, who zealously remained Jews in all but the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah, that he had risen from the grave and would come a second time to gratify the hopes not fulfilled in his first advent. They also fostered the belief that they could cure by miracles and drive out demons by declaration of a formula of their faith; for Jesus had also believed in this power of exorcism. They still maintained to a degree the customs of the Essenes, from which body, perhaps they had first sprung,—particularly the duty of voluntary poverty. Indeed, the Sanhedrin seriously considered whether they might not be regarded as Jews.

But when Judaism and Jews became discredited through loss of land and Temple and the latter were taxed for the privilege of remaining loyal to the former (*Fiscus Judaicus*), these Jewish Christians began to drift away from people who had lost power and status in the world, and threw in their lot with the controlling majority. Such is the way of the world. Fur-

thermore, some of the Jewish country folk, losing faith in the validity of Judaism through the loss of its Temple, were attracted to Christianity with its new scheme of salvation, in which Jesus took the place which they had lost in the altar of sacrifice. So the loss of the Temple with its priestly service had much to do with the spread of Christianity.

Although great bitterness at first existed between the two Christian sects, the pagan branch soon absorbed the Jewish branch and all too soon the Christians "knew not Joseph." For the antagonism of Gentile against Jew was now transmitted to the new church and, sad to say, it became a more bitter persecutor of the people from which Jesus and Paul had sprung than most of the heathen nations had been.

New ceremonials grew up in the new Faith. Pass-over was made a sacrificial service, the unleavened bread and wine supposed to be transformed in some mystic way into the flesh and blood of the Saviour (as Jesus was styled). Many Roman rites and symbols were consciously or unconsciously taken up by the new creed in the first few centuries of its foundation; for it grew less and less Jewish as the years went on. Depreciation of Judaism became now the accustomed tactics of the Church Fathers, for Christianity's justification depended in some respects on the theory of Judaism's insufficiency. This unfortunate spirit of antagonism we find in parts of the Christian Scriptures that mar the many beautiful and humane teachings

they contain. These Scriptures were known as the *New Testament*, to distinguish them from the Jewish Scriptures which was called the *Old Testament*, as though the Testament or covenant between God and Israel, there recorded, was now obsolete and superseded by a "New" covenant in which, as already explained, Jesus the Messiah (Christ), the Son of God took the place of the Law. Many passages from the Hebrew Prophets were retranslated, to fit the impression that they had really foretold the coming of Jesus and the events of his life. The whole Hebrew Bible in fact was treated as but a preparation for Christianity's grand climax. Even the history of Israel was regarded as but an allegorical picture of the life of the Nazarine.

We cannot pass this period of religious upheaval without a word about certain strange sects neither wholly Jewish, Christian or pagan, but something of all, that arose at this time. They were for the most part called Gnostics, from the Greek "Know," claiming to obtain through weird processes a clearer knowledge of God. Very fantastic were the views of some on the problems of life and sin. Some of the sects were led into all sorts of absurdities and excesses. A few Jews were seduced by these fascinating heresies, notably one Elisha ben Abuyah, learned in the Law though he was. Having left the fold, he became a persecutor of his people. The Rabbis only accounted for the sad change

by a complete revolution in his nature—so they called him *Acher*, “another man.”

The Sanhedrin found it wise to prohibit the reading of such mystic literature that would tend to seduce youth from the sound and healthy teachings of Judaism.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

For an elucidating picture of the compromise of paganism with Christianity by a Christian writer, read *Is Catholicism a Baptized Paganism?* by Rev. Heber Newton, in the *Forum Magazine*; New York, 1890.

The book chiefly made use of by Christian apologists for the interpretation of Christianity between its lines is the Prophet Isaiah, particularly its fifty-third chapter, though modern Christian critics altogether abandon this old method of biblical exegesis. See Skinner's *Isaiah, Cambridge Bible*, for good translation and explanation of Isaiah, viii., ix., and liii. Also Montefiore's *Bible for Home Reading*, both vols.

CHAPTER XXVII.

ROME'S REGIME AFTER JUDEA'S OVERTHROW.

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The Emperor Vespasian who had permitted the institution of the Jamnian Academy, though he had also imposed the Fiscus Judaicus, was succeeded by his son Titus. Titus lived too briefly after he became Emperor to exert a decided influence on Israel, but they could never forget that to his hand had been entrusted the final overthrow of Judea. His brother Domitian, however, the next Emperor, was a tyrant and a degenerate. The Jewish tax was collected with needless cruelty and indignity. He bitterly persecuted those Romans who, in spite of Israel's fallen fortunes, were still drawn to its Faith. Proselytes came in sufficient numbers to make the subject an important theme of discussion in the Jewish Academy. It was probably in Rome itself where the spread of Judaism most alarmed the Emperor. Perhaps its teachings reached the Romans through the Jewish prisoners of war. Certainly many high born Romans were enthusiastically prepared to make sacrifices for its cause. It is said that even Flavius Clemens and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, re-

latives of Domitian and possible heirs to the throne, were pledged to Judaism. Clemens was put to death in the year 95, and his wife was exiled. But a step—and Judaism might have mounted the imperial throne of Rome and have exchanged destinies with Christianity. That is one of the might-have-beens of history.

One of the most famous proselytes was Aquila, a Greek of scholarship and wealth. Dissatisfied with the later Greek translations of the Bible, distorted to fit Christian doctrine, Aquila made a literal translation from the Hebrew that so commended itself to the Rabbis that it became the "authorized version," so to speak, for the Synagogue. An Aramaic translation of the Bible, following his model, was called after him Targum Onkeles—which means "a translation like that of Aquila." It is often printed with the Hebrew texts of Scripture today. Remember, Aramaic was the language spoken by most Jews of the East at this time.

It was the unhappy fate of Israel that the mischievous Domitian (who, it is even said at one time contemplated the extermination of the Jews,) should have reigned so long and that the good Emperor Nerva, his successor, should have reigned so briefly. So although the injunctions against proselytes were removed during the sixteen months of Nerva's rule, as soon as Trajan came to the throne many anti-Jewish laws were restored. Like Alexander the Greek, Trajan cherished the wild desire of conquering Asia. When he attacked

Parthia, the Jews living in semi-independence there became his most vigorous opponents. In Babylon they stubbornly held the city of Nisibis against his legions. No sooner had he subdued the lands on the Euphrates and the Tigris. than the Persian provinces revolted.

All the Jews of the Diaspora now seized the occasion to throw off the hated Roman yoke. For they had never been reconciled to it and their children, now grown to manhood, had been brought up in the assurance that soon Judea would be won back again, and the Temple rebuilt. In Egypt, in Cyprus, a Mediterranean island, and in Cyrene, further west on the African coast—they rose against their opponents. At first success came to their arms and much blood flowed on both sides; but there could be no doubt of the ultimate outcome with Rome's overwhelming numbers. So vigorous was their resistance that the historian Graetz ventures to think that, in spite of lacking cavalry and being indifferently armed, had these three separate Jewish uprisings been organized under one directing control, it would have gone hard with the Roman legions. As it was, their beautiful Synagogue in Alexandria was destroyed, all the Jewish inhabitants of Cyprus were slain, and the island forbidden them in the future. Many lives were lost in other places of Jewish insurrection, including Judea itself. The revolt certainly nipped in the bud Trajan's foolish ambition to conquer all Asia, and he died in mortification at his failure.

Gamaliel was dead and Rabbi Joshua was Patriarch. The reins of power could not have been entrusted to wiser hands, for he seized the moment of the accession of the new Emperor Hadrian to council conciliation. Like Jochanan ben Zakkai, he saw the futility of Israel wasting its strength in fighting with colossal Rome. The Sanhedrin was removed from Jamnia to Oosha in upper Galilee. Joshua's sway was less rigorous than that of Gamaliel. At a time when many of his brethren felt nothing but hatred toward the heathen, he uttered the famous dictum: "The virtuous of all peoples have a share in the heavenly bliss of the life to come."

The new Emperor also seemed at first inclined to a policy of concession; but there was little choice, for revolt burst out in all parts of the empire, from Asia Minor in the East to Britain in the far West. The discouraged Emperor gladly met many of his enemies half way. Parthia was restored to the control of its own princes. In Judea proper a cruel general, Quietus, was stopped in his terrible purpose of exterminating the Jews and was ultimately executed.

To win peace and adherents, he was willing to make many fair promises at the opening of his reign that he had no serious intention of fulfilling. One of these was an offer to the Jews to rebuild their Temple, which they had exacted as the condition of laying down their arms. Imagine the boundless joy with which this news was received—a Cyrus come to power once more! He-

brew poets sang of the glories that were to come. Christians and Samaritans were much disconcerted at the news.

But as soon as Hadrian had obtained the mastery of the situation and quiet was restored, he resorted to subterfuge. They might rebuild their Temple, but not in the same place. He knew it was that place or none. The Jews saw through the pretense; their hopes were blasted. There was talk of war again, but the wise Rabbi Joshua still counselled submission. So for many years the embers of revolt slumbered in the breasts of the Jews, but did not die out, though as long as Rabbi Joshua lived they did not break into flame.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

AKIBA.

The man who now came to the fore was of a different mould—the famous Rabbi AKIBA. Many a pretty legend is woven around his life. Have you ever realized that it is only around great men that legends grow? Imagination does not seek to picture incidents in the lives of the commonplace. Not only poor, but ignorant, he despised scholars and scholarship. Like the great Lawgiver, he served as a humble shepherd the rich Kalba Sabua. One day, so runs the story, he met the beautiful daughter of his master and fell in love

with her. Angry at her attachment for this boor, Kalba disinherited his daughter, Rachel. But her sweet self-sacrifice in sharing poverty with him rather than wealth without him, roused the noblest qualities dormant in Akiba's nature. She was determined to bear yet further privation that he might become a scholar in the Law. For it was to his ignorance, rather than to his poverty, that the father had objected. Among no people was illiteracy so great a disgrace as among the Jews, and among no people did learning simply, confer so much honor. So at her urgency, he reluctantly left his home to sit at the feet of the Rabbis of the Schools. A wonderful pupil he became, for he had the gift of enthusiasm. But while he was winning renown at the Academy, she, alone and at a distance, was battling with poverty, at one time having to sell her hair to buy food for her child. But still the self-sacrificing woman would not permit his return.

One day it was announced in the village in which she lived that the great scholar, Rabbi Akiba, was about to visit it. He came surrounded by many disciples, and as the crowd of admirers gathered about him, they pushed aside a poorly clad woman who tried to reach his side. But espying her, he parted the crowd and caught her in his arms. To the astonished spectators he declared, "All that I know I owe to her, for she was my inspiration."

So far the romantic side of his life. On its literary side he was a great Tana, and famous scholars came

from his School. His method of interpreting new Law from old was based on the theory that no word or particle in the Pentateuch was redundant and must therefore have some hidden significance. On such a principle there was no end of the possible deductions from Scripture. Yet the Rabbis were too earnest and too conscientious to knowingly abuse it. He certainly gave them a free hand in devising regulations to meet the complex needs of later times. So the theory worked in the interest of progress. The institution of this method has earned for Akiba the title of "father of Rabbinic Judaism."

He further gave an impetus to the classification of the Halachath, already begun before his day. This classification of the Oral Law was called Mishna, or Second Law, of which we shall hear more later on.

He too had a voice in fixing the canon of Scripture. Here follow some of his sayings:

"How favored is man for he was created in the Image" [of God].

"Everything is foreseen, yet freedom of will is given to man."

There is also ascribed to him on doubtful authority the maxim, "Whatever God doeth He doeth for the best."

There was a wonderful fascination about the man that attracted hundreds of students to him—tradition says thousands. That was in part due to his unbounded

faith. Instance of this faith is illustrated in his visit to Rome, with some of his colleagues to intercede with Domitian on behalf of his people. They burst into tears at beholding Rome's splendor and mentally contrasting it with Jerusalem's desolation. He met their tears with a hopeful smile—"The present ruined condition of our beloved land, foretold by the Prophets, only assures me of the fulfillment of the brighter prophecies of our ultimate triumph."

Alas, even faith may have its drawbacks! Akiba's deep conviction that the restoration of Judea's independence was at hand, to be effected by the advent of the Messiah, induced him to encourage the revolt that was quietly but steadily spreading among his disaffected brethren.

Hadrian, little understanding the spirit of this people reported to the Senate after making a circuit through the Roman provinces, that all was peace. He was both foolish and cruel enough to display his absolute power and Israel's complete subjection, not only by withdrawing permission to rebuild the Jewish Temple, but by ordering a heathen shrine to be reared on its site, thus completely to paganize Jerusalem.

This was the last straw. The aged Rabbi Joshua went to implore the Emperor to desist from this wanton project, but in vain. It was one of the last acts of the Patriarch's life. Like Antiochus of old, Hadrian wished to obliterate Judaism—and Christianity too for that

matter,—and make the idolatrous worship of Serapis universal.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

For a critical study of the life and work of Akiba, read the article, "Akiba ben Joseph" in Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I.

Massorah is the technical term for the traditional Scripture text handed down by the Fathers of the Synagogue, which has been thus preserved intact in these scrupulous and reverent hands. See article, *Massorah*, Isidor Harris, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. I.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LAST STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

Preparations for rebellion had been carefully planned for some years. Arms had been stored in caves. Akiba was the inspiration of the revolt, its Deborah, let us say. But who was to be its Barak? The times created the man. A hero appeared to lead the forces of Israel whom the multitude in admiration called BAR COCHBA (Son of a Star). This title was suggested by the name of his birthplace, Koziba, but partly also because he was regarded by the enthusiasts as the long looked for Messiah. This man of colossal strength and strategic resources was going to make Rome feel

the power of a scorned people. Reinforcements came fast to the banner of the supposed Messiah, scion of David's house, who was to throw off the yoke of Rome and restore the throne of Judah. Soon he had half a million men at his back.

The Roman governor, Turnus Rufus, who is the Talmud's archetype of cruelty, fled with his garrison. In the first year of the war fifty fortresses and a thousand towns capitulated before the advancing arms of Bar Cochba; for the presence of the beloved Akiba gave confidence to all. We might say of him as was written of Moses, "When Akiba raised his hand, Israel prevailed."

Hadrian, who first slighted the insurrection, had soon reason to fear it. His best generals were dispatched to Judea only to be repulsed. Already Bar Cochba was having coins struck with his insignia. Alas, the act was premature. King Ahab once said, "Let not him boast who putteth on his armor as he who taketh it off." In the meantime Roman prisoners of war were treated with great forbearance; indeed some heathens impressed with the enthusiasm of the Jews, had joined their ranks.

Eventually, after Bar Cochba had held sway for two years without cavalry and had repulsed every Roman army, Hadrian, alarmed, summoned the great general, Julius Severus, from distant Britain. The Jewish focus of operations was at Bethar, south of Caesaria, and one mile from the Mediterranean, and fortifications

had been placed North, West and East to hold control of the country. Jezreel commanded the centre.

Like Vespasian, the great general Severus, decided on siege rather than attack. So he steadily cut off supplies and provisions and also barbarously put to death all prisoners of war. There was no Josephus to give us vivid details of this campaign, so we only know its general result. The three great outlying fortresses on the frontier were first mastered. The next battle took place on the field of Jezreel. One by one the Jewish fortresses fell. The whole Judean army was now concentrated in Bethar where the decisive battle must be waged. It was the Jerusalem of this war. Severus resolved to starve it out. For one year the Jews bravely held out against the finest army of the age. At last some Romans found a way into Bethar through a subterranean passage which some Samaritans, it is said, betrayed. Then followed an awful carnage in which Roman horses "waded to the nostrils in Jewish blood." More than half a million souls were slain and thousands more perished by fire and hunger. Yet so great were also the Roman losses that Hadrian in his message of the campaign to the Roman senate, significantly omitted the formula, "I and the army are well."

In the year 135 Bethar fell and tradition places it on the same date so disastrous in Jewish annals—the 9th of Ab. The Roman soldiers kept up a war of extermination against the scattered bands that still held out. Many who had taken refuge in caves were brutally

massacred. All the Jews throughout the Roman Empire were made to feel the weight of Hadrian's anger in heavy taxation. As though wantonly to mark its complete desolation, the plow was passed over Jerusalem. North of it was built a Roman city—Aelia Capitolina. On the Temple Mount was erected a shrine dedicated to Jupiter, with the vindictive purpose of obliterating the very name of Jerusalem. And it *was* forgotten—for one hundred and fifty years. No Jew dared enter that city under penalty of death. But his real punishment of those whom failure made rebels had not yet begun. Keener sighted than Vespasian, who blotted out the nation but protected the Faith, he now saw that there was only one way to crush the Jew—that was by crushing his religion. To that abortive purpose he now devoted himself with all the inhumanity of a Pharaoh. To the cruel but cowardly Turnus Rufus, who had fled at the first alarm, that task was entrusted. Judaism was proscribed. Obedience to its Law was declared a capital crime. What should they do—commit physical or spiritual suicide? Was ever a people reduced to such straits?

A few were ready for ignoble acquiescence and called it submitting to the inevitable, forgetting that "inevitable" is an elastic term that varies with our moral determination. Meeting secretly in a garret, the Rabbis considered the momentous question of the religious policy of this critical hour. They decided that while this terrible decree lasted the people might disregard

Jewish observances under duress, since the Law was given, not that they should die, but live by it. But fearing that their lenient proclamation might be mistakenly applied to the fundamentals of religion and morals, they made this safe-guard: Even to save their lives, no Jew must commit the sins of IDOLATRY, INCEST or MURDER. This vitally important declaration, involving the all-compelling sanction of the Second, Sixth and Seventh Commandments, became an abiding principle in Judaism.

But many of the Rabbis themselves refused to take advantage of the temporary leniency they were willing to grant to others, and determined to obey every injunction of Judaism; and particularly, to impart knowledge of the Law to their disciples, on which the continuance of the Jewish tradition depended—though they knew that martyrdom would be the penalty of discovery. Roman spies were everywhere ready to pounce upon any who committed the offense of obeying the dictates of conscience. Some were only fined, but others were put to death with tortures too cruel to tell.

Of the ten martyrs among the teachers of the Law, Chananyah ben Teradion, had a scroll of the Law he was expounding wound round him and was burnt in its flames—wet wool being placed on his heart to prolong his agony. His executioner, inspired by such lofty example of faith and courage, sought death with him in the same pyre.

Another, Rabbi Juda ben Baba, gathered some of his disciples about him in a lonely spot, to ordain them as rabbis by the rite of Semicha, already explained. Roman soldiers discovering him, pierced him with a hundred arrows.

Rabbi Akiba was among the martyrs and would not avail himself of the temporary suspension of the ceremonial Law. Reproached for exposing his life by teaching the Law, he answered in a parable that has since become famous, that of "The Fox and the Fishes." Better that the fish should spurn the advice of the crafty fox and remain in the water—their native element—even tho' it was made perilous by the nets of men. Was not Judaism the *native element* of the Jew? Soon this noble soul was seized. Rufus ordered him to be flayed to death by iron pincers. But religion cannot be killed in that way. In the midst of his agonies, a seraphic smile illuminated his face. "Daily," said he, "I have recited the Shema, 'Love God with heart and soul and might,' and now I understand its last phrase—'with all thy might,'—that is even though He ask thy life; here I give Him my life." With this wondrous recital of Israel's prayer, this sweet soul, whose opinions may have won some opponents, but whose character all loved, passed away. His parable of "The Fox and the Fishes" contained a profound truth, for verily through the inspiration of his death and that of others like him does Israel abide to-

day. Here was another application of the "suffering servant" in Isaiah's fifty-third chapter.

Thus ended Israel's last struggle for liberty. It severed too the last link that yet united the Jewish Christians to the parent Jewish body. "Why hold further relation with a community completely crushed and discredited in the eyes of all the world?"

CHAPTER XXX.

THE MISHNA.

Sorrowfully the Jews now took up the burden of life once more. In spite of dreadful devastation and dreary outlook, the faith and spirit of the majority remained unbroken. Hadrian had tried to eradicate Judaism, but he had failed. The defeated were still the victors. In the year 138 Hadrian was succeeded by the more humane Antoninus Pius. The religious persecution was stopped. The Sanhedrin was reopened at Oosha, the Presidency being still retained in the family of Hillel. Rabbi Simon, the Nasi, was the father of the maxim, "The world rests on three pillars—Truth, Justice and Peace." Compare the "world's three pillars" of Simon the Just.

Rabbi Mair was a unique figure of this time. He is said to have given one-third of his means to support

poor students. Not at first recognized because of his youth, he gave expression to the maxim, "Look not at the vessel, but at that which it contains; for there are new flasks full of old wine and old flasks which contain not even new wine." Did not Rabbi Joshua express a similar sentiment?

His wife, Beruria, is the most renowned—or perhaps the only renowned—woman in Talmudic annals. We might compare her to the Shunamite (II Kings, iv.), whom the Bible calls a "great" woman. Great was Beruriá in strength of character, in dignity and withal in motherly affection. She was indeed a helpmeet to her husband and to many of her people in a time of storm and stress. Her own parents had been martyrs in the Hadrianic war. She was a scholar too. Her keen penetration and at the same time her womanly tenderness are revealed in her interpretation of the text, "Let sinners be consumed out of the earth." (Psalms civ.—35). Not *hate-im*, but *hata-im*—not *sinner*s, but *sin*. Then indeed will be fulfilled the hope at the conclusion of the text—"The wicked will be no more."

Her strength of character is perhaps best revealed in the pathetic story told of the consoling way in which she broke to her husband the terrible news of the death of their two sons. Through a beautiful symbolism she lead him to confess, before she revealed the sad tidings, that "jewels" lent to them must be returned; in this way fortifying him with consolation for the sor-

row awaiting him, she revealed their double bereavement.

Rabbi Mair was a broad man who gladly gathered knowledge from all, Jew and non-Jew alike. Mark this bit of wisdom: "Who studies the Law for its own sake is worth the whole world and is loved by God and man." Is not the study of the Law *for its own sake* the very essence of religion? He would illustrate his lessons by fables in the portrayal of which he was wonderfully gifted.

The Tanai epoch, as it opened, so now closes with a remarkable man—RABBI JUDAH, called *par excellence* The Nasi: i. e. greatest of all. And no Nasi before him had been permitted to exercise so much power over the Sanhedrin,—now located in Sepphoris in Galilee.

Like so many of his predecessors, he devoted much of his wealth to the maintenance of students of the Law, and fed the poor during a famine. His most valuable service was the complete codification of all the Halachath that had been gradually accumulating since the days of the Maccabees. While similar collections had been made before his time commenced by Hillel, amplified by Rabbi Akiba and revised by Rabbi Mair, his final editing of the previous work became the officially accepted condensation of the Oral Law—THE MISHNA, superseding all earlier collections.

Written in the new Hebrew of the days of the Second Temple, it became the text-book in all the schools,

the recognized code for all legal decisions. As the Second Law—which Mishna means—it now took its place beside the Law of the Pentateuch, and just as that first Law was a text for further development, so too we shall see that this Second Law, containing Halachath of the *Sopherim*, the *Pairs* and the *Tanaim*, became the parent of a vast growth of precepts and prohibitions in the interpreting hands of the generations now to follow.

The Mishna is divided into six books :

- I—Seeds.
- II—Festivals.
- III—Women.
- IV—Civil and Criminal Law.
- V—Sacrificial Laws.
- VI—Purification.

These six groups (Sedarim) contain sixty subdivisions, (Mesechtas) as follows :

I. SEEDS.

1. Prayers.
2. "Corners" of fields for poor. (Levit. xix., 9-10).
3. Doubtful produce, (whether tithed or untithed).
4. Illegal mixtures. (See Deut. xxii., 9-11).
5. Sabbatic Year.
6. Priests' Tithes.
7. Levites' Tithes.
8. Secondary Tithes.
9. Dough offerings. (Numbers xv., 17).

10. Prohibited fruits of first three years. (Levit. xix, 23-25).
11. First fruits.

II. FESTIVALS.

1. Sabbath.
2. Uniting localities to extend limit of Sabbath walk.
3. Passover.
4. Half-shekel tax. (Ex. xxx., 11).
5. Day of Atonement.
6. Tabernacles.
7. Festival regulations.
8. New Year.
9. Fasts.
10. Purim.
11. Minor Feasts.
12. Festival Pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

III. WOMEN.

1. Levirate marriage. (Deut. xxv., 5-10).
2. Marriage contracts.
3. Vows.
4. Nazarites. (Numbers vi., & xxx.)
5. The suspected sinner.
6. Divorce.
7. Betrothal.

IV. CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LAW.

1. First division—general.
2. Second division—Suits between Master and Servant, etc.

3. Third Division—Municipal and social regulations.
4. The Sanhedrin and Criminal Law.
5. Punishment by flogging.
6. Oaths.
7. Witnesses.
8. Idolatry.
9. Ethics of the Fathers.
10. Accidental Offenses.

V. SACRIFICIAL LAWS.

1. Sacrifices.
2. Meat offerings.
3. Slaughtered animals for food only.
4. The first born sacrifice.
5. Redemption: }
6. and Exchange: } See Levit. xxviii.
7. Excommunication.
8. Embezzlement.
9. Temple Sacrificial services.
10. Temple arrangements.
11. Offerings of poor. (Levit. v., 1-10 & xii., 8).

VI. PURIFICATION.

1. Household furniture.
2. Tents and houses.
3. Leprosy.
4. The "Red Heifer" purification. (Numb. xix.)
5. Lesser defilements.

6. Washings.
7. Periodic defilement.
8. Conditional impurities.
9. Wounds.
10. Personal defilement.
11. Washing of the hands.
12. Defilement of fruits.

About 150 authorities are quoted in the Mishna, involving about 2,000 statements.

While the Mishna is strictly a code only, still its underlying structure is religious. The moral is everywhere impressed. One of its sections is a Book of Morals called Ethics of the Fathers, from which rabbinic sayings have already been quoted. We find no system of doctrines in the Mishna and no formulated creed. A bad life is summed up in the general term—*epicurean*, which probably meant sensual self-indulgence and scoffing scepticism. The Jew is not asked to believe in God's existence. That is taken for granted; Atheism hardly came within his ken. He is asked only to shun anything that tends to idolatry. The acceptance of two fundamental beliefs is made the condition of future life—Revelation and Resurrection. To withhold Immortality from him who denies it we might call poetic justice. The punishment of wickedness in general is not Hell, but oblivion; for death atones all sin.

While the ceremonial law was rigorous, its observance was saved from being mechanical by the import-

ance laid on sincerity of intention and on inner devotion. Rabba, of whom we shall hear later, said, "He who does good for reasons other than the good itself, it were better that he had never been born." This teaching is characteristic. To transcend the Law in the keeping of one's word merits the highest praise. Many prohibitions were imposed—not wrong in themselves, but as barriers against possible wrong. These formed a "fence around the Law."

The acceptance of the Mishna as the Canon of Jewish Law curtailed—theoretically at least—the freedom of the rabbis that now followed in the evolving of new Law. The teachers were henceforth at liberty only to *expound* the Mishnas. They are therefore called AMORAIM—expounders—to distinguish them from the Tanaim that class of teachers who interpreted direct from the Scriptures and whose work closed with the Mishna.

The Mishna tended to still further decide the legal character of Judaism. While it may have robbed the individual of spontaneity of religious action, it strengthened the bulwarks of moral law—"the categorical imperative," as Kant calls it.

Rabbi Judah, the Prince, not only compiled the teachings of others, but he left valuable maxims of his own:

"Be as careful of the observance of a light precept as of a weighty one."

"Balance the material loss involved in the per-

formance of a precept against its spiritual compensation."

"Know what is above thee. A seeing eye, a hearing ear, and that all thy actions are written in a book."

No Nasi received so much reverential regard from the people at large. While he was dying, they gathered around his house, declaring in the hyperbole of grief that they would slay the person who would dare announce his death. At length there came forward Bar Kappara, the only Hebrew poet of this period—a man of broad scientific attainments and withal a man of delicate imagination. In these words he announced Rabbi Jehudah Hanasi's death: "Angels and mortals contended for the ark of the Covenant. The angels have conquered, the ark of the Covenant is gone."

But a passing word of other great men of this epoch. Rabbi Jochanan showed his breadth of view in encouraging the study of Greek and opening up its great literature to Jewish youth, and particularly in his recommendation of it for girls. This urging of the cultivation of the female mind formed a pleasing contrast to the prevailing practise—the neglect of the education of women—which practise survives in some of our communities today.

To this period also belonged that keen dialectician, Resh Lakish, renowned both for his colossal strength and his schupulous honesty. He alone saw that the

Book of Job was not a history, but a life problem put in the form of a story. He also taught that Hell has no real existence.

Another teacher, Rabbi Simlai, searched the Scriptures and enumerated 613 ordinances of Judaism—365 negative and 248 affirmative precepts. He found them further reduced to eleven principles in the 15th Psalm; in Isaiah xxxiii. to six; in Micah vi.-8 to three; in Isaiah; lvi. to two; and in Amos v.-4 to one; to one also in Habbakuk ii.-4.

Nor must we forget those delegate rabbis who, investigating the religious and educational condition of various towns and finding in one place no teachers, asked the magistrate to present the guardians of the city. He marched forth the armed men. "No," said the delegates, "these are not the guardians, but the destroyers of a city. Its true guardians are the teachers."

Let us mention in this group too Rabbi Abahu, the last of the great men of the Palestinian schools, renowned not so much as an expert on the Halacha as a keen Hagadist. This is another way of saying that he was not so much a subtle jurist as a great *Preacher*. He was a student of human nature. His keen insight on one occasion chose as the worthiest to pray for rain, a man of bad repute, but whom he had discerned possessed a nature of rare worth.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

For a complete numeration of the 613 precepts, see

article "Commandments," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV.

Read *Liberal Judaism*, Montefiore; pages 113 and 114: Macmillan.

Another collection similar to the Mishna and arranged on the same plan was called Tosephta (addendum). This contained, however, more Haggada and for the most part commentaries on Scripture.

Read article "Prof. Schürer on Life Under the Law," by Israel Abrahams in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Vol. XI., and "The Law and Recent Criticism" Schechter, Vol. III.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BABYLONIA AND ITS SCHOOLS.

Ever since the Bar Cochba war, the numerical centre of gravity of the Jews had shifted to Babylonia, and soon after the compilation of the Mishna in Palestine, this land became the religious centre too.

A fertile country, it lay between the Euphrates and Tigris and the Persian Gulf at the south—though the term is sometimes used in Jewish annals to include the surrounding lands, the eastern boundary extending as far as the Arabian Desert. This second "Land of Israel" had been a home for the Jews since the first forced exile there in the year 600 B. C. E. in the days of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. From Babylon came both

Ezra and Hillel, though in the four centuries intervening between these two men we hear nothing of Jewish life in Babylon.

This land had varied fortunes. The home of the Babylonians—one of the most important of the Semitic families and one of the most ancient civilizations—it was conquered by Cyrus the Persian about 540 B. C. E. About the year 330 it was taken by Alexander in his triumphant march through Asia and became part of the Seleucid Empire. This brought into it something of a Greek atmosphere. In the year 160 B. C. E. it was conquered by Parthia—an Asiatic nation dwelling south of the Caspian Sea. This regime continued for four centuries, though the Parthians exercised no influence whatever on the Jews. In the year 226, A. C. E. a Neo-Persian dynasty was re-established. This continued till the coming of the Arabs in the Seventh Century.

During all these changes in the controlling power, the Jews continued in Babylonia undisturbed. When Judea fell in the year 70, that seemed almost an annihilating catastrophe, their life went on without a break, except that it brought to Babylon a large number of Jewish refugees. So that by the Second Century after the Christian Era, it had become the centre of greatest Jewish influence and activity. Trajan had tried to conquer the land, but failed. So they remained out of the reach of the Roman grasp.

What was the Jewish status here? Since the time of

Cyrus the government had been Persian. Given almost complete political independence, they simply paid taxes to the government. As Persia had granted to the Jews the privilege of administering their own affairs in Judea, so naturally, the same permission was granted in Babylonia. There was this important difference: The head of the Judean community had been the High Priest in the days when the Temple stood. When we turn to Babylon in the century following Jerusalem's overthrow, we find the governor of the Jewish community was called Exilarch or RESH GELUTHA, to use the Jewish expression, (Head of the Exile).—*Goluth*—Exile, was a word freighted with emotional meaning to our fathers.

In the first place the Resh Gelutha, as distinct from the High Priest, was entirely a civil functionary. In the second, the office carried more power. The Exilarch was recognized by the government and occupied a place among the Persian nobility. At first but collectors of revenue, they were later treated as princes—perhaps as a mark of gratitude for the Jewish support of Parthia against Rome. A good deal of pomp came to be associated with the office. These Exilarchs were all chosen from the House of David, and so represented a quasi-royalty. The line continued unbroken till the Eleventh Century. The Exilarchs exercised complete judicial authority among their own people. Unlike the Patriarch or Nasi of Judea with whom we may also

compare them, they were not necessarily learned in the Law.

The Jews of Babylonia were for the most part engaged in agriculture, various trades and work on the canals. Fortunate indeed were they to have again secured a home beyond Rome's cruel control, where undisturbed they might live their own life. In the study of the Law they found inexhaustible material for intellectual and religious activity. But how was religion taught and the continuity of Judaism maintained in Babylonia?

At first they were entirely dependent on the Palestinian Academies established in Jamnia and Lydda and other places after the fall of Jerusalem, and were altogether subject to the Judean Sanhedrin. And many students traveled hither to study at its schools. But after a time the community grew strong enough intellectually to establish academies of its own. The most famous were those of *Nahardea*, *Sura* and *Pumbaditha*. The heads of the Academies corresponded to the Judean Patriarchs, only that all civil power was vested in the Resh Gelutha.

Step by step the Babylonians increased in learning; and, acquiring confidence, came to feel less the need of the guidance of the parent authority. Soon they claimed independent jurisdiction. This was bitterly resented in Palestine. The removal of the Sanhedrin to Jamnia had been the first wrench. The second was the removal of the central authority in Judea itself to distant Baby-

lonia. But they could not stem the tide. As the fortunes of the Jews declined in Judea, the schools declined with them. Steadily waned too the authority of the Patriarch.

Babylonian schools also produced great scholars, some of them as renowned as those of Judea. Of course, they are all Amoraim, not Tanaim. Why? Let us mention first ABBA AREKA, popularly called by his many disciples Rab (Rabbi), "the teacher," who flourished in Babylonia a few years after the Mishna had been compiled in Palestine. Apart from his duties as expounder of the Law, the Resh Gelutha appointed him to the position of supervisor of weights and measures. Occasioned by this occupation to travel in outlying districts, he discovered the ignorance of the remoter congregations. This led to his establishment of the Academy of Sura, 219, A. C. E. It continued a seat of Jewish study for eight hundred years. Hundreds of pupils flocked to his Academy. Some he maintained from his own purse. At the same time the study hours were arranged to give pupils an opportunity to earn their living. Some lectures were delivered to the public at large.

It was not only in the expounding of ritual and civil law to which Rab devoted his energies, but also to raising the moral standard of the people. For the austere simplicity and purity of Jewish life had sadly degenerated in Babylonia. Wonderfully salutary and effective was the influence of Rab in his moral crusade. He made the betrothal and marriage laws more strict and more decorous. He also strengthened the author-

ity of the Courts of Justice by resort to excommunication of refractory persons. Deservedly was this modest man called the Hillel of his day.

Usually associated with the name of Rab was the versatile MAR SAMUEL, his contemporary. He was essentially the rationalist of his age and discovered with his hard common sense the dreamer who awaited the miraculous. In Jewish Law his ability chiefly was directed toward the interpretation of civil jurisprudence, for which he was especially fitted. His most famous decision and that which most affected the Jews was expressed in the phrase, *dina d'Malchuthah dina*,—"The law of the state is the law for us." This means that it is our duty as Jews to obey the laws of the countries in which we live. This principle tended to reconcile our fathers to the lands of their exile, taught them their true relation to them and was in the spirit of the message of Jeremiah to the very first exiles to Babylon—"Seek the peace of the country whither ye are exiled and pray to the Lord for its welfare." The ultimate result of Samuel's dictum was that the better the Jew, the better the patriot.

Samuel had the courage of his convictions. For when the Persian king, Shabur, was engaged in war against Asia Minor, many Jews fell, who were fighting in the ranks on the opposing side. Yet he would not countenance mourning for his fallen coreligionists since they had fought against his king.

Babylonia was its broad unbroken plains that gave such wide survey of the heavens, became in consequence the cradle of astronomy, and Babylonian Jews

were expert in this science. So versed was Samuel in the course of the stars that he once said, "The tracks of the heavens are as familiar to me as the streets of Nehardea." His astronomical knowledge enabled him to arrange a fixed calendar and made Babylon further independent of Judea in deciding the dates of the festivals. He was also a renowned physician. But medicine and astronomy were characteristic accomplishments of the Jewish sages. Samuel did not scorn to learn from the Persian sages or Magi, as they were called. While greatly esteemed, not all of his contemporaries realized how profound a scholar he was. For in a sense he was a man in advance of his time. We understand him better to-day.

What was the religion of Israel's Babylonian masters? The Parthians were inclined toward Hellenism and exercised no religious influence on the Jews. But when the Persians again came under control of Babylonia 226 A. C. E., they instituted the religion of the Magi. The founder of this faith was Zoroaster. This great religious genius explained the existence of evil in the world as the persistent conflict of two great spirits—Ormuzd, spirit of light and good (God), and Ahri-man (devil), spirit of darkness and evil. The sun was the visible type of Ormuzd and fire the expression of his energy. Thus Ormuzd was worshipped under the symbol of fire. This worship spread over a large part of Asia. It did not deserve to be classed with the idolatries of the heathen world that brought so many immoralities in their train, for we see even while disagree-

ing with its recognition of a devil, that it expressed exalted ideas. But the rise of this Neo-Persian dynasty, awakening new religious energy, led to a passing persecution of all non-fire-worshippers.

Meanwhile the Babylonian schools—Metibta, as each was called—(Hebrew, Yeshiba) still flourished and appealed to more students than had been reached in Palestine, many of whom became great Amoraim. Babylon, in fact, was now a Jewish colony regulated by the laws of the Bible and Mishna as interpreted in the Academies. Even the Resh Gelutha was in later times often a Jewish scholar, as for example, Mar Ukba. In addition to the *Resh Metibta*—head of the School—there was a *Resh Kallah*, President of the General Assembly—an institution not found in the Palestinian Academies. These were for the benefit of visiting students and met twice a year in the months of Adar and Elul.

Most renowned of Rab's successors was Rabbi Huna, who died in 297. Following the recognized precedent, not to use the Law as a spade, he earned his living by farming.

Reverence was shown to Judea now only in so far that the pious Jews desired to be buried there, while persecutions in Roman realms brought still more refugees to Babylonia.

The next generation of scholars we must pass over rapidly with just a word. In Pumbaditha we may mention Rabba, who believed in the saving sense of humor and also set himself the more serious occupation of classifying the Halachath accumulated since the Mishna

had been compiled. The method of deduction as taught in the Babylonian Schools was more subtle than that of Judea. Its hair-splitting tendency in the next generation of Amoraim occasionally degenerated into casuistry.

Rabba's successor, Rabbi Joseph ben Hija, furnished a Chaldean translation of the Prophets. The Torah had already been translated into it for popular use. Bear in mind that Chaldaic, not Hebrew, was the vernacular.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Read Dr. Mielziner's *Introduction to the Talmud*, (Bloch Publ. Co.), Chap. IV.

This book is particularly recommended in connection with the chapters on Mishna, Talmud and the Academies.

Read Article "Babylonia," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CHRISTIANITY THE STATE CHURCH OF ROME.

ROMAN EMPERORS

Antoninus Pius.....	138
Marcus Aurelius.....	161
Commodus.....	180
Alexander Severus.....	222-235
Diocletian.....	284
Constantine.....	320
Constantius II.....	337-363

At the death of Antoninus Pius two Emperors reigned conjointly—Varus, a degenerate, and Marcus Aurelius, a philosopher. The Roman Empire was be-

coming steadily demoralized. It was at the mercy of a series of degraded creatures who engaged in scandalous conflicts for the bauble of royal power. At times the purple was offered to the highest bidder.

But in 222 the throne came into the hands of a better type of man, Alexander Severus. Unlike most of his predecessors, he respected Judaism, and Hillel's Golden Rule was inscribed on the walls of his palace. So his reign meant thirteen pleasant years for the Jews—a little break of sunshine through the lowering clouds.

After the death of Alexander Severus, degeneracy again set in and usurper after usurper seized the throne. The monotony of upstarts was occasionally broken by a better type of man like Diocletian. The demoralized condition of the State was reflected in the people at large. Paganism at its best had failed as a scheme of life. Roman society was hopelessly corrupt and on the eve of collapse. The people no longer believed in the supposed divinities Jupiter and Apollo. The philosophers tried to explain them away as abstract ideas. The ceremonies of the temples became a mummery. The augurs (priests who were supposed to foretell the events by examining the entrails of birds) could not look each other in the face without laughing.

The more earnest prayed for something better. Had Judaism not been discredited and under a ban and the Jews, its followers, spurned as an alien race, it might have been more largely sought—though its ceremonial code was exacting and its moral code severe. It made not an iota of concession to win a single pagan to the

fold. As it was, in spite of discouraging conditions, many would-be proselytes knocked at the doors of the Synagogue.

But for many reasons, Christianity was in a better conditions to make converts. Most of its adherents had come through conversion, and proselytism was a cardinal item in its program. The eagerness of the Christians to bring a religious message to the heathen deserves high praise and must not be under-rated, though it betrayed weakness in being too ready to make concessions to pagan notions. The semi-idolatrous idea that Jesus was at once man and God was a familiar conception to the pagan mind. The dramatic picture of his dying on the cross to save mankind appealed to their emotions. The treatment of the Jewish expression "holy spirit," (meaning nothing more than the divine inspiration), as a being—a separate divinity—introduced a third element into the God-idea—the "Holy Ghost." (Ghost in old English, spirit; notice the German "Geist.") This made the Christian divinity a Trinity. But a three-headed God, so revolting to Jewish ideas, was quite a recognized theological notion in the heathen world.

With these sugar-coated accretions, the nobler Jewish teachings which were Christianity's foundations, were more readily swallowed. Christianity became popular in Rome. Its adherents were found in all ranks. When they were a small and feeble group, the Roman Emperors had persecuted them. But now they were in the majority. The tables were turned. Only minorities are persecuted.

Thus it was that an Emperor named Constantine decided first to give toleration to all cults and ultimately to adopt Christianity—"partly from a genuine moral sympathy, yet doubtless far more in the well-grounded belief that he had more to gain from the zealous sympathy of its professors than to lose by the aversion of those who still cultivated a languid paganism." This act made it the religion of the Empire. But since Rome was mistress of half the civilized world, this acquisition of power and numbers at once gave to the new Faith an eminence it has never lost. The effect of this promotion was profound and lasting and vitally affected the destiny of Israel.

The attitude of enthroned Christianity was at once inimical to the parent Faith. At first sight it would seem that it might be more kindly disposed to a religion to which it owed so much and to which it was so closely related. Alas to confess it—for such is human nature—the very closeness of the relationship was the cause of its enmity. It regarded the very persistence of Judaism as a denial of its theories, and as a challenge to its claims. Christianity declared the Law abrogated; Judaism was more devoted to it than ever. Christianity declared that the Messiah had come; Judaism maintained he had not. Christianity called Jesus a divinity—Son of God; the Jews spurned this as a blasphemy. Christianity taught a Trinity; Judaism, on the other hand, made monotheism a passion and taught the indivisible Unity of God as the cardinal principle of religion.

The first act by which Christianity exercised its new

power was to prohibit Jews from making converts to Judaism (315), while Jews who became proselytes to Christianity were rewarded by the State. Thus it conspired for the gradual elimination of the Jewish Faith.

As its ranks rapidly swelled, Christianity continued to make consciously and unconsciously more and more concessions to heathen beliefs, and customs that were deeply rooted in the hearts of people who accepted the new creed more or less superficially. The original Es-sene ideas from which it had sprung were completely lost to view. Taking the imperial government as its model, the Church reproduced Roman administration in its systematic organization, even to its despotic demand of sole sway. Enforcing a rigid uniformity of doctrine, there was now organized a hierarchy of patriarchs and bishops whose power was enforced by the State and whose provinces corresponded with the administrative divisions of the Empire, the Emperor being head of the church. In the year 325 a Church Council was called at Nicaea (Asia Minor) to draw up the official creed of Christianity. For it laid great stress on BELIEF. This marked another distinction from Judaism, which, so, far, had formulated no creed and had no particular theory of salvation. The Nicæan Council condemned the teachings of one Arius, whose idea of God was closer to Judaism, and declared the equal eternity and divinity of the three persons of the Trinity with more decided emphasis. It further decided, that the Festival of Easter (which was the Jewish Passover readapted to commemorate the resurrection of Jesus)

should now be arranged independently of the Jewish calendar.

The policy of suppression directed against Judaism commenced by Constantine was continued with greater ardor by his son, Constantius. He forbade intermarriage and imposed the penalty of death on Jews who made proselytes of Christian slaves. He even prohibited their converting heathen slaves. Further prohibitive acts followed. This hostile attitude was continued for centuries.

Thus the Jews in the Roman Empire were transferred from a heathen to a Christian regime. Quietly they continued on the even tenor of their way and prayed with greater fervency for the restoration of home and liberty.

It became necessary for Hillel II., Palestinian Patriarch, in 359 A. C. E. to establish a fixed calendar based on that of Samuel of Babylon, to guide the people as to the time of celebrating New Moon and Festivals, as in these troublous times they could not always either obtain or transmit the news. But the "second" day of the Festivals, instituted for lands outside of Palestine, now no longer needed, was maintained as a matter of sentiment and is maintained still in conservative Judaism.

This planning of a Jewish calendar by which the Festivals were computed perpetually and yet kept in their natural seasons, was a wonderful piece of astronomical and arithmetical ingenuity. For a lunar year of twelve months is shorter than a solar year of three-

hundred and sixty-five and a quarter days. To average the difference and thus prevent, for example, Pass-over eventually occurring in Autumn and Tabernacles in Spring, an additional month (second Adar) was added seven times in every nineteen years. Further, the calendar had to be so devised that certain Festivals should not fall on undesirable days—for example to prevent the Day of Atonement falling on Friday or Sunday. This ancient calendar is our guide still for the Jewish year and has never been revised.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Read "Is Catholicism a Baptized Paganism?" *Forum Magazine*. (1889).

Read Article "Catholicism," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. III.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE DIVISION OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

But a brief check was made on Christian advance and its pitiless attempt to suppress Judaism in the coming to the throne of Julian in 361. This Emperor did not endorse the new religion, but accepted the old Roman cult of the Pantheon, though in its most idealized form, desiring not to abolish it, but to purify it. But it was too late; it had been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

Julian, whom the Church styled "the Apostate," was

both tolerant and philanthropic, and a man who fostered learning. As between Christianity and Judaism, though bred in the former, to which he continued to grant perfect freedom of observance, his inclination turned rather toward the latter, and he held it in high esteem. Naturally, he removed the restrictive laws and special taxes against Judaism, imposed by his predecessors. He even took steps for the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. The Jews were transported with delight and began at once sending contributions toward its erection with greater zeal than was even shown, according to Scripture, by that generation in the wilderness in their gifts toward the Tabernacle. The Christians looked on with consternation, and regarded every unfavorable interruption as the miraculous intervention of heaven. Not a supposed miracle however, but a real event, brought the project to nought. Julian died on the battlefield.

In the meantime Rome was failing fast. The conflict for the throne on the death of each new Emperor, already mentioned, showed that the Empire was crumbling from within. Long before the days of Constantine armies were setting up their generals to the Imperial dignity all over the Empire. The throne was propped up a little longer by gaudy trappings, but this meant heavier taxation and further slavery. Finally the overgrown and undermined body split in twain, each half maintaining a separate existence. Byzantium, afterwards called Constantinople, was the capital of the Empire of the East, with Rome still as the centre of the Western half. The division was finally

throne in 408, began the systematic restraint of Judaism—the harsh discrimination against them before the law. The Jews were prohibited from building new synagogues, from exercising jurisdiction between Christian and Jew and from owning Christian slaves. The bishops and clergy began fomenting attacks in different localities, forcing baptism on some by threat. Ultimately the Patriarchate of Judea was abolished in 425 after the Hillel family had enjoyed this dignity for three and a half centuries.

Christianity now developed ascetics who went to grotesque extremes and imposed absurd privations upon themselves to express religious zeal. Some condemned themselves to stand on pillars—hence called “pillar saints”; some, to live as hermits in the desert. But with them all Jewish persecution was deemed a kind of piety, the logic being that Jewish beliefs were opposed to the truth and the Jews were the enemies of God. The most famous of these pillar saints was Simeon, surnamed Stylites, meaning pillar.

In the Roman Empire of the West under Emperor Honorius, Jews were excluded from most public offices. The monies hitherto contributed both from East and West to maintain the Patriarchate were now demanded to be continued as a Jewish State tax. Thus did Christian Rome follow the precedent of pagan Rome. This was the kind of treatment that they were now to meet in all Christian lands, marking the beginning of the Jewish *Middle Ages*.

Still Christian divines were glad enough to sit at the feet of Jewish scholars and learn from them the

Hebrew tongue. In this way Jerome was enabled to make from the Hebrew a new translation of the Bible in Latin. It was called the *Vulgate* (Latin *Vulgata*, for public use). It has remained the authorized translation for the Catholic Church to this day.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

Read *The Holy Roman Empire*, Bryce; Chapters II and III. (Burt, New York.)

Read *Hypatia*, Kingsley.

On the Emperor Julian's relations with the Jews, especially with regard to his proposition of rebuilding the Temple, see two articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (Vols. V. and X.).

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE TALMUD.

The times were so uncertain in Babylonia as well as in Judea that the Jews felt it necessary now to collect and *write down* their varied traditions and laws. They could no longer trust the transmission by word of mouth; they could no longer rely on their memories, marvelous though they were, and though further aided by a mnemonic grouping of the Halachas. So they were reluctantly compelled to overcome their sentimental objection to writing down these traditions—which from the very title, Oral Law, implied that they should be transmitted from mouth to mouth, inscribed

only on the tablets of the mind. Perhaps, too, they felt that writing would crystallize the Halachath at the point where they were transcribed into unchangeable dicta and prevent their further development. For while unwritten, they were fluid and could be modified from age to age. As a matter of fact, the writing down of the laws *did* tend to crystallize them, and thus hampered the progressive growth of Jewish Law.

The work of codifying and writing down the Oral Law was commenced by Rabbana Ashi about the year 400. Placed at the head of the declining Academy of Sura, he breathed new life into it. His knowledge won him both esteem and authority such as had been granted to Rabbi Juda Hanasi, compiler of the Mishna in Palestine about two hundred years earlier. But Rabbi Ashi's was a vaster task—the compiling of all supplementary laws that had grown out of the Mishna proper and from all the Mishna collections in the course of two hundred years. It included, too, the discussion and incidental material that revealed the original process of deduction. This vast after-growth or commentary was called Gemara, which means completion. Together with the Mishna, which formed the text, it was called the TALMUD. This commentary, Gemara, is far bulkier than the Mishna. Sometimes a few lines of Mishna would call for pages and pages of Gemara.

For about half a century Rabbana Ashi and his disciples, particularly Rabina, labored on this gigantic task. The completed work was called the *Babylonian Talmud*, as it was not only written in Babylonia, but contained largely the decisions attained in the Baby-

lonian schools. Though do not forget that its Mishna text was written in Palestine. The final touches were made by Rabbi José about the year 500. It contains twelve folio volumes or 2,947 leaves.

A similar work had been done in Judea about 380. This Judean commentary was called the Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud, and was but a quarter of its size. Outside of Boraitha quotation, the Jerusalem Talmud is written in Aramaic. Whether it originally contained commentary or all Mishna we cannot say; but in the copies now extant there are only the first four Sedarim and some commentaries on a few additional chapters. For this reason it is a much smaller and less important work. Indeed, when we speak of the Talmud, we usually mean the Talmud Babli.

As to the language of the Talmud: The Mishna is written in Hebrew, and so too are some of the older quotations in the Gemara. But the bulk of the Gemara is written in a dialect of Aramaic—we might say in Juedisch-Aramaic, just as we speak of Juedisch-Deutsch to-day.

As to its contents—Gemara on some of the Mishnas is here also lacking in the Babylonian Talmud—nevertheless it is an immense work. The two great divisions of Halacha and Hagada have already been explained in the chapter on the Mishna. It will be understood at once then that the Talmud is not merely a code of laws for Jewish guidance, though primarily that is its purpose. It also gives us, though incidentally, an insight into the manners and customs of the Jews, their theological views and general reflections on life; their hopes

and their sufferings for a period of some six hundred years—"A work in which a whole people had deposited its feelings, its beliefs, its soul." We have fragments of biography of Jewish scholars, bits of inner history under Roman and Persian rule, homely philosophy of the sages; glimpses too of their weaknesses and occasionally of their superstitions and their mysticism—all the more faithful because unconsciously portrayed. Interspersed between their legal discussions will be found an anecdote, an abstract thought of the rabbi whose decision is quoted, a bit of humor, a picture of Oriental civilization. As direct outgrowth of many of their ritual arguments, we are introduced to their science; astronomy and mathematics in the drawing up of their calendar; botany in their agricultural laws; hygiene, anatomy and physiology in the Shechita laws (slaughtering animals for food); and natural history and medicine in various ways. There is of course very unequal value in their data, and naturally they shared many of the limitations of their time.

The legal discussions in themselves reveal keen mental acumen, subtle logic, vivid sense of justice and philanthropy and touches of vindictiveness too—wrung from them in the hour of agony. The study of the Talmud was to become the chief occupation of the Jews for many centuries. It was a world in itself in which they lived and in which they could forget the cruel world without. Its study reacted on their character. First the Jew made the Talmud, then the Talmud made the Jew.

Like the Bible, the Talmud produced a literature

still vaster than itself. While the Gemara is a commentary, it needed later commentaries to explain it to the student—for although so diffuse, its language is stenographically terse. Therefore in editions of the Talmud to-day, Mishna and Gemara together form the text and are printed in the centre of each page, while commentaries in smaller type are grouped around it. Since the days of printing all editions are paged alike.

After the completion of the Talmud the work of the Academies became preservative rather than creative. While not adding to the laws now gathered in the Talmud, the rabbis reviewed them and formulated from them a complete code for practical application. This tended to give a finality to the laws so far evolved, which had both its good and bad side. This undertaking gave to this school of final redactors the name of *SABORAIM*—revisers or critics—the third group of law expounders. They edited the Talmud and amplified it with Agadistic material and finally brought it down into the form in which we have it to-day.

At this time a knowledge of grammar was brought to Persia from Greece, which resulted in the important service of introducing vowel points and accents. This tended to simplify the study of Hebrew Scriptures and made the text more certain.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

See two pamphlets on the Talmud issued by the Jewish Publication Society; one by Emanuel Deutsch, and the other, the more critical, by Darmesteter.

The ethics of the Talmud have been touched upon incidentally in preceding chapters. For a systematic treatment read Part IV., Outlines of Talmudic Ethics, in Mielziner's *Introduction to the Talmud*. See also *Ethics of Judaism*, Lazarus (translation) Jewish Publication Society.

BOOK IV.

JAPHETH AND SHEM

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE BEGINNING OF THE JEWISH MIDDLE AGES.

At the opening of the Sixth Century, Mazdak, a new zealot for the religion of the Magi in Babylonia, about the year 500 tried to impose on all under his rule certain dangerous doctrines of his own that tended to undermine the moral foundations of society. Naturally the Jews, always normally a chaste people, stoutly resisted. This meant fight. Again must they lay down the book for the sword, or rather, take up the sword for the cause of the Book. Led by the Resh Gelutha Mar Zutra II, they actually succeeded in throwing off the Persian yoke altogether for some seven years; but they were, of course, ultimately brought into subjection, and consequently many martyrs were added to the Jewish roll of honor.

So, for the time being the Jews were between the two fires of Christian and Magian intolerance.

In Judea, in fact in the whole Eastern-Byzantine Empire, which included all Roman conquests in Asia, Eastern Europe and Northern Africa, life for the Jew grew still more precarious. In many Palestinian towns, notably Cæsarea and Antioch, insurrections broke out, usually during the circus races. Ravages against the Jews were actually endorsed by the Emperor Zeno. Churches were everywhere replacing synagogues in the land which had once been theirs, and Jerusalem became an archbishopric where Jews were not even admitted.

Under Justinian, anti-Jewish legislation was systematized. He was the Emperor who became famous because of the digest of Roman law, accomplished in his reign, in the year 529. His theory was—"one religion, one law, one state." Against the fulfillment of such an ideal the Jews stood, so to speak, as an obstacle. Therefore the laws of this digest, that concern them, are severe. Among these was the provision that Jewish witnesses could not testify against Christians. Justinian, who further made them bear the expense of the magistrate office without its privileges, also forbade their celebrating Passover prior to Easter! He even went so far as to prohibit the recital of the *Shema* since it was a protest against the Trinity! Furthermore, he tried so to modify the Synagogue service that it might encourage Christian ideas. Altogether there was rather a monotony of suffering under Byzantine rule, but it was saved from being sordid by the knowledge of the cause for which they suffered. While their deep faith that Providence would ultimately usher in a glorious dawn if they were but patiently loyal, saved them from despair. Under the Byzantine rule at its best they were left contemptuously to themselves and were granted a certain autonomy in the management of their communal affairs.

In the early part of the Sixth Century, Persia and Byzantium entered into a struggle for the possession of Palestine in which the Jews took an active part and supported the Persians, who, on the whole, had treated them more humanely. Under the leadership of one Benjamin, Judea had gathered an army once more.

The Persians, however, were ungrateful to these allies, and when victory seemed to be theirs, not only refused to cede Jerusalem according to promise and for which the Jews had so longingly hoped, but even imposed oppressive taxes upon them. How cruel the world is to minorities! Further ill-treatment induced many to enter under the banner of the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius in 627, and by solemn treaty he promised them immunity from all punishment.

Fortune turned in his favor. Persia withdrew. The monks now urged the triumphant Emperor to extirpate the Jews from Palestine. He reminded them of his solemn promise of immunity made to them. They told him that a promise to Jews need not be kept and that to slay them would be an act of piety. Thus sanctioned, he began a severe massacre. Further, the edicts of Hadrian and Constantine, forbidding Jews to enter Jerusalem were once more enforced in 628. But Judea was not long to remain in Christian hands.

As already stated in Chapter xxxiii., the Western half of the Roman Empire succumbed to Northern tribes about the year 500. The Ostragoths, led by Theodoric, became masters of Italy, the Visigoths of Spain, the Franks and Burgundians of Gaul—the Gaul that had been great Cæsar's pride to conquer! Here we see the beginning of the formation of the nations of Europe. They all accepted the Roman system of law and government to a modified extent, and that which now became the Roman religion too—Christianity. So the victors became the disciples of the vanquished

—a not unusual experience in history. In each of these lands and under each of these peoples, Israel was pretty well represented by the Sixth Century, and in each they had a distinct history. So, in continuing our story we shall have to follow many strands. They were treated better than in Byzantine lands—at least at first.

The Ostragoths, who became rulers in Italy, were Arians. The other group of Christians—the Orthodox—called themselves Roman Catholics. Catholic means universal. You have already been told that Christianity claimed to be a universal Church and Rome a universal Empire. This theological monopoly did sad mischief in the coming centuries. These Arian Ostragoths were kinder to the Jews than the Catholics. The greater tolerance of the Arians may perhaps have been due to the fact that their idea of God was a little closer to that of the Jewish conception. These two divisions of Christendom were certainly very bitter against each other. When a Byzantine army threatened the Ostragoths, the Jews loyally stood by those who, if they had not treated them generously, had treated them justly. Later we find the Jews defending the sea-coast of Naples for the Ostragoths in 536. Only when overwhelmed by superior numbers did they at last surrender.

Italy became a Byzantine province, so these Western Jews also found themselves under the Emperor Justinian's sway. In 589 most of Italy fell into the hands of the Lombards, a tribe that had come from the Elbe with the rest of the Northern groups about

the Fourth Century. They now became both wealthy and powerful. Arians at first, they were won over to the Orthodox Faith. Indeed, Arian Christianity soon disappeared—just as in the early days of the Church, Jewish Christians were absorbed by pagan Christians.

In the meantime the Roman *bishop* (overseer) acquired power over all bishops in other Christian centres, and became the head of the Church with the title POPE (Greek-father). In the course of time these popes exercised immense power, and we shall see kings trembling before them. For they came to be regarded as the representative of God on earth. Whoever dared oppose their will was placed under the ban. Then all shrunk from the excommunicated creature as from a person smitten with leprosy, for the superstitious age regarded him accursed and doomed. Very terrible was it when this dangerous power was in the hands of an unscrupulous Pope, which not infrequently happened. But there were many good Popes, too, and the Jews found among them, as we shall see, friends as well as foes.

Gregory I., one of the earliest and also one of the greatest, would not allow his bishops to molest the Jews, though he offered the bribe of remission of taxes for their conversion.

Slavery was still a recognized institution of society, due in part to constant warfare, the daily business of life and to the custom of enslaving prisoners of war. So, slaves were in nearly every household and in the fields, taking the place of the humble toilers of to-day. Still we are sorry to find the Jews so active in this

reached Africa. The Frankish Empire was not one central government, but was subdivided into several monarchies. But under nearly all the Jews enjoyed the rights of Roman citizenship.

We find the Jewish industries varied, including agriculture, all kinds of commerce and medicine, in which they had been early distinguished. Some were soldiers too, for the restraints of the Church had not yet reached these shores. Even when Christianity was first introduced by the warrior Clovis, Jews and Christians mingled freely and held cordial relations; though the Jewish dietary laws occasionally caused embarrassment and ill-will when Jews sat at Christian tables. It was the higher clergy who began to look upon these cordial relations with misgiving and to discourage them. In this way hatred was *artificially fostered* by the Church. Not till the beginning of the Sixth Century did a Christian king of Burgundy begin to discriminate unfavorably against the Jews, and to break off kindly relations by forbidding Christians to sit at Jewish tables. Soon the Church Councils began to issue severe anti-Jewish edicts. So in different states and towns within the Empire we find restrictions such as these gradually introduced: Jews must not make proselytes; must not "insult" Christians by showing themselves in the streets on Easter; they must not be permitted to serve as judges or as tax-farmers.

Their worst enemy at this time was Bishop Avitus. He first tried to convert them by sermons. Persuasion failing he resorted to violence and incited a mob to burn their synagogues. Their fanaticism once fed, the

masses fell upon the Jews and massacre began. Baptism was accepted by several in order to save their lives—others escaped to Marseilles.

So far Gaul. Let us now turn to Spain, or rather to the Peninsula, for Portugal was not yet a separate kingdom, and what is now the South of France was also included in the Visigothic Empire. While the Jews were early settled in the lands of Southern Europe, in very remote antiquity—too early even to trace—they were brought in considerable numbers after the Judean War of 70, and were soon redeemed by their sympathizing brethren. As in Gaul, so here the Visigoths, being of the broader Arian school, regarded the Jews with cordiality and esteem, and their superior knowledge gained for them public positions of honor and trust.

So we find the public-spirited Jews defending the passes of the Pyrenees against the inroads of the Franks and Burgundians and winning distinction by their courage and trustworthiness. How patriotic the Jew always becomes when given the barest tolerance, we shall see right through their history.

Nor did they forget their religion, but became faithful disciples of teachers sent them from the Babylonian schools. For their well-wishing neighbors did not interfere with their complete observance of the precepts of their Faith.

But as soon as the Orthodox Christians—i. e., the Roman Catholics—obtained the upper hand, the higher clergy behaving identically like those in Gaul, began to sow the seeds of mistrust in the hearts of the people,

and forbade as sin close intercourse with Jews. Soon the usual disabilities followed, the unfair discrimination to handicap the Jews in the race of life. How Jewish history repeats itself!

Their height of misery was reached when one Sisebut came to the throne in 612. Jews were now prohibited from holding slaves, though held by all others and forming a necessary class in the restricted civilization of the age. The climax was reached when he offered them the alternative of baptism or expulsion. Some found the sacrifice of land, home and possessions too great and externally submitted to a Faith that cruel experience had taught them to abhor. Very many became exiles. Under his successor, Swintilla, who repealed the harsh laws, the exiles returned to the land and the converts to Judaism. But the Church Council re-enacted the unnatural command of forced baptism and the returned converts were compelled to become Christians again. What sort of Christians could they become under such conditions? But most cruel enactment of all—to think that a religious council should have proposed it—their children were torn from them and placed in monasteries to become completely estranged from both their Faith and their kindred. This hard law was mitigated however by the opposition of the powerful Visigothic nobles.

Again a king occupied the throne who offered the remaining Jews the alternative of exile or baptism. Again they submitted to banishment. Once more they were allowed to return, though under many restric-

tions. But the forced converts were held in the Church with an iron grip while—strange limitation—they had yet to pay the Jewish tax! In secret and peril they still continued to observe the Jewish festivals. But the spies of the Church soon discovered the double life and compelled them to spend Jewish and Christian holidays away from their homes and in the presence of the clergy. After a few years in which this cruel vigilance was relaxed, King Erwig won over the clergy to his support by reinstating this Jewish persecution with more violence than all his predecessors. Now baptism was demanded, with confiscation, mutilization and exile as the penalty of its rejection. The Jewish Christians who had secretly clung to Judaism right through, were placed under complete clerical espionage. These abortive edicts were passed in 681. The next king, Egica, "bettered the instruction" of his predecessor. Jews were now forbidden to hold landed property, to trade with the Continent, or do business with Christians. In their despair, they entered into a conspiracy against the barbaric government, were discovered, and nearly all the Jews of Spain reduced to slavery.

But relief was to come from an unexpected source. A new religion, Mohammedanism, had been brought to life and soon became a great power in the world. It was destined to change for centuries the fate of the Jews of the Peninsula and transform an iron to a golden age. But to understand this movement, we must

turn to Asia once more and look into the life of a new people—the Arabians.

NOTES AND REFERENCES.

This age produced nothing of a literary character except polemic replies in Latin to works written at this time to prove Christianity from the Jewish Scriptures.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

ARABIA.

The Peninsula of Arabia is bounded on the southwest by the Red Sea, on the southeast by the Indian Ocean, on the northeast by the Persian Gulf, and on the north touches the mainland of Palestine and Syria, reaching to the Euphrates. So that we might say it lies between three continents. It is divided by geographers into three parts: 1. Arabia Felix (fortunate)—the largest—all the land between the three seas. 2. Arabia Petraea (stony)—the end adjoining the Peninsula of Sinai. 3. Arabia Deserta—the Desert between Palestine and the Euphrates. The old Ishmaelites used to dwell in Arabia Deserta—scorched by burning sands, with scant vegetation and brackish water. The Bedouins were brave, hardy, and of simple habits, but restless and rapacious. The description of the wild ass in the third chapter of Job well fits their character.

The character of the land made the building of cities

and organized society impossible. Conditions encouraged a lawless life and necessity, rather than choice, tempted them to attack merchant caravans. A French proverb runs, "To know all is to excuse all." While not endorsing this dangerous maxim, we can see that their home largely decided their character. We are all influenced by surroundings in some degree. Yet some make the most of even hard conditions and barren soil. Not so the Bedouins. They never rose to greatness religiously, satisfied to worship stars and stones and gratify the wants of the hour. So they have not advanced. But of the Arabs of Central and Southern Arabia we have a better story to tell.

Long before the fall of the Second Temple—probably before the fall of the First—many Jews found their way to Arabia. By the time they made their presence felt there we find them established in separate groups or tribes.

There were many points of kinship between Jews and Arabians. The Bible hints this in making Abraham the father of both peoples, which tradition the Arabs accepted from their Jewish neighbors. Their kinship was further due to the fact that they both belonged to the same race—the Semitic. The Semites included—Assyrians, Chaldeans, Babylonians, Syrians, Phoenicians, Hebrews, Arabs and Ethiopians. In spite of the religious divergence, the Jews adapted themselves—externally at least—to the Arabian mode of life. It is a nice question in how far Jews should assimilate with their surroundings and in how far stand

distinct. So, while the Jews of South Arabia engaged in commerce, those of the less civilized North were agriculturists and wandering shepherds like their Bedouin neighbors. Like them, too, some even form robber bands. Yet here at least we meet a favorable variation in that the Jews were more humane to their enemies. Further, the Jews adopted the patriarchal status of society of their Arabian environments—not so dissimilar to the social life depicted in Genesis—i. e., each group of families lived under the guidance of one patriarch or Sheik. The Sheik was a kind of king and his will was obeyed as law by the particular group under his sway. For there was no central government. In unsettled districts hospitality becomes the greatest virtue because it represents the greatest need. This is well illustrated in the Genesis story (Chapters xviii. and xix.) of the contrasted behavior of Abraham and the people of Sodom.

The religious ideas of the Arabians while not gross were primitive. They had a Holy City, later known as Mecca, near the Red Sea border, in the centre of which was a black stone called the Kaaba. This they no doubt worshipped as an idol. Indeed three hundred idols were associated with this place. While fierce in warfare, in which they frequently engaged, and remorseless in revenge, these rough tendencies were mitigated by the institution of four holy months, during which the taking of life was avoided.

The Jews as such were better educated than the Arabs and may have taught them writing, and were altogether looked up to as the intellectual superiors of

the Arabs. Far from interfering with their religion, the Arabs were rather prepared to take the position of disciples. They adopted some Jewish rites, endorsed their calendar, and Jewish teaching exercised a salutary influence on their character. Many converts came to Judaism unsought, and when a Sheik accepted Judaism, the clan followed. Naturally, under such favorable auspices the Arabian Jews lived up to their religion with ardor and zeal, though it did not receive the highest interpretation in their hands. They turned for guidance in the fulfillment of the Law probably both to Judea and Babylonia. They had their school too at Yathrib, later called Medina—north of Mecca and likewise near the Red Sea. But the Bible was largely brought to them in Midrashic paraphrase.

The most important convert to Judaism was Jussuf, the powerful king of Yemen, in the southwestern quarter of the Peninsula—about the year 500 A. C. E. The Jewish sages were invited to teach Judaism to the people at large. The enthusiastic but unwise King Jussuf, hearing that Jews were persecuted in the Byzantine Empire, put to death some of its merchants. This only paralyzed trade and brought on war. So the Jews were hardly fortunate in their ally, for he did not grasp the spirit of Judaism and tried to impose it by force—i. e., by the sword. This recalls the forced conversions of John Hyrcanus. (See Chapter VII.) Yussuf stirred up enemies against himself, and the Jews in many surrounding lands, who at last completely crushed him. Thus ended the ill-starred Jewish kingdom. No, Judaism was not destined to spread in that

way. "Not by force, not by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord."

Like the Arabs, the Jews cultivated poetry and held it in high esteem. Most renowned of these Jewish poets was Samuel Ibn Adiya, who flourished in Arabia about the same time as the Talmud was being edited in Babylonia. His life is perhaps more interesting than his poetry, for it shows how this stimulating environment at its best encouraged a fine spirit of chivalry among the Jews.

For Samuel was also a powerful Sheik in whom the weak and persecuted always confidently sought protection. One day a famous Arabian poet and prince, pursued by his enemies, sought refuge in his castle. Going forth to seek the aid of the Byzantine Emperor, Justinian, he entrusted to Samuel his daughter and his arms. But no sooner had he gone than his enemies hastened to the castle, demanding the arms from Samuel. But Samuel would not break his promise, so the castle was besieged. Obtaining possession of one of his children, the savage enemies threatened to slay it unless the arms were given up. It was an agonizing alternative to the father, but he did not falter. "Do what you will, the brothers of my son will avenge this deed." So at that awful cost the trust was kept. What wonder that an Arabian maxim should run, "Faithful as Samuel!" Other poets sang his praise.

But we must pass quickly over the rest of this epoch till we reach the end of the Sixth Century. By this time Judaism had widely spread and Jewish colonies were found along the whole northwestern coast. In Medina

their numbers were particularly large—consisting of three great tribes. They had built their own villages and fortified strongholds.

It was in the Sixth Century that a man was born whose name, MAHOMET, was to ring through all Asia and whom all broad minds now recognize as one of the great religious teachers of mankind. Closely was his fate linked to Israel's, for again was Judaism to inspire a prophet and give birth to another world religion.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

MAHOMET.

Mahomet, to name him by the title that he afterwards acquired, was born in the year 570 in Mecca, and belonged to a branch of the powerful Koreish tribe. He began life as a shepherd. At twenty-five he married Kedija, who had employed him as camel-driver. Travelling extensively for her, he found his fellow-countrymen in a condition of religious neglect. The old star-worship and fetichism had lost their force, just as in more classic lands we saw that the divinities of Olympus had lost their meaning. A man given much to solitary contemplation, he yearned for something better. He became filled with fine aspirations to uplift his fellowmen. In the solitude of the wilderness he experienced strange exaltations, and led for a period an ascetic life, spending much time in prayer. Others like himself, groping for religious truth, were brought in contact with Jewish and Christian colonies in Syria

and Babylonia. The monotheistic idea of Allah (God) he learned from Jewish teachers. A highly nervous nature, he "dreamed dreams and saw visions," and gave vent to his emotions in violent outbursts. It was in about his fortieth year that he felt the divine call to preach God to his benighted Arabian brethren after the manner of the Hebrew Prophets, whose works had moved him deeply. He began to feel that perhaps he was the ordained Messiah whom the Jews awaited. He had read the Hebrew Scriptures in the more highly colored Midrashic form. From what he thus learned and from what he gathered from some Baptists and anchorite ascetics, together with his own religious experience, he gradually evolved a religion for his people that came to bear his name.

He reached these convictions not without much anguish of soul, his spirit torn by doubt—the true experience of every deep religious nature. First Kedijah, then his family, then a small circle of adherents, gathered about him, convinced of his divine mission. His vigorous personality attracted many more. At first his purpose was not to teach a new religion, but to reinforce the great truths recognized by the noblest natures in all times, his own enthusiasm contributing the only new element. As with Christianity, the humbler classes were first attracted, the higher holding aloof. Like the Jews, whose principles had most largely influenced him, he preached a strict monotheism. He even adopted the Jewish dietary laws.

But gradually he made himself the centre of his message. With some allies, he had many opponents,

especially as he denounced the idols of the Kaaba and rode roughshod over many of the cherished traditions and superstitions of the Arabians. This brought against him persecution from the people of Mecca. For the success of his preaching meant the withdrawal of rich revenues from the pilgrims who came to the "holy city." A breach with the Arabians was a breach with the world—a living death. So, for a moment he temporized and was prepared to make a quasi acknowledgement of the old divinities. But with the conversion of his uncle and one Omar—a man like himself of great force of character—he took a rigid stand again. He was put under interdict by the Koreish, his own family tribe.

In the meantime he suffered much privation. Among the people of Medina, however, his preaching, in which he referred to the Jewish Scripture for endorsement, received more kindly recognition; for Jewish teaching had, as it were, prepared the way. This meant new converts. So, in the year 622 Mahomet bade all his followers emigrate with him to Medina. This was called the famous HEGIRA (flight), and marked the turning point in the movement. In Medina he soon became the natural chief and arbiter. All disputes hitherto decided by combat were now brought to him for decision. Thus he began to build up a system of law and justice. Here then he founded a religious settlement, and the social tone was raised. The bitter blood feuds were modified, property rights were respected, and the position of woman elevated. He had long since condemned the barbaric Bedouin practice of

putting to death newly born daughters. The whole life of the people of his community was ordered with a kind of military precision in which the battle cry was, "No God but one God."

Unfortunately his motto now became, "Who is not for me is against me." This meant war against all outside his adherents.

After some modification the Faith inculcated five cardinal precepts: 1. Confession of unity of God; 2. Stated time of prayer; 3. Alms giving; 4. Fast of Ramadhan; 5. Festival of Mecca.

His most daring act perhaps was breaking with that fundamental principle of Arabian life—blood relationship. The old Arabian ethics had concentrated all duty within tribal boundaries. These were now to be disregarded and a new brotherhood built up, that of Islam (submission)—a religious brotherhood that could disregard even the holiest ties outside of it. Yet to ask them to exchange kinship for faith was an unnatural demand. This long meant bitter resistance.

Medina was thus made a Commonwealth, his followers an army, and a remorseless conflict was waged with all who refused to come within the fold. This brought his arms against the Jews. Their strongly fortified castles were taken one by one. Completely to break with the old regime, he even ordered his followers to attack the caravans in the holy month of truce. This was a severe test of their faith. Victory steadily followed his aggressions and brought him many converts; and many deputations came in voluntarily, dazzled into conviction by his success.

In 630 he had conquered Mecca. This was called "The Conquest." Although he compelled the inhabitants to give up their idols, he compromised so far as to retain the Kaaba and the Feast, and to reinstate Mecca as a holy city. Abraham was credited with being the father of the ritual. Fascinated by the glamor of his remarkable triumphs, adherents came to him from all sides. What other creeds have taken centuries to attain, he achieved in his lifetime. This too rapid success is one of the defects of his movement. It grew too fast for excellence. So some of his successes were failures, for to obtain them the spiritual was occasionally sacrificed to the worldly.

As each new province came under his sway, its submission was to be exemplified by proclamation of Muedin for prayer, payment of alms-tax and acceptance of the Moslem law. But their internal tribal affairs were left untouched. In 632, in the eleventh year of the Hegira, Mahomet died. But not till Arabia was at his feet. He had founded a Religion and a State.

NOTE.

Islam the name given to this religion and *Moslem* to its followers are both derived from a word meaning 'submission' (to God.)

CHAPTER XXXIX.

ISLAM AND THE JEWS.

Mahomet never forgave the Jews for their refusal to accept him as "The Prophet" of God superseding all others. He had accepted so much from them—the fundamental idea of monotheism, the Calendar, the Sabbath, the Day of Atonement, much of the Scripture and Agada, and many details of the ceremonial Law. He asked of them so little—it seemed—to regard him as God's chosen and supreme messenger to man, to all intents and purposes the Messiah, whose advent was foretold in their own Scriptures, to whom they must now look for the interpretation of their Faith. But that "little" they could not conscientiously give. For not even Moses, their only recognized lawgiver, "greatest of their Prophets," were they prepared to regard quite in the way in which Mahomet asked allegiance. Their hearts told them that this man was *not* sent by God on a mission to them, however much he may have been sent to the Arabians. He was not *their* Messiah. So to accept him would be traitorous to their traditions and to the teachings of Scripture. (Deut. xviii, 15-22). For the acceptance of Mahomet would have ultimately meant the stultification of their religion and its submergence in a new cult of which he would be the founder. At that rejection, his affection for them turned to hate, and instead of allies, he chose to look upon them as rivals, as enemies of the true Faith. Their endorsement was the one thing needed

for the complete confirmation of his mission. Therefore, forgetting how much he owed to their spiritual treasures, he became their persecutor.

How history was repeating itself! Was not this identically Israel's experience with that other creed to which its religion had given birth—Christianity? Its adherents likewise said to the Jews, "We accept your Scripture, ethics and divinity. Accept only from us this individual Jesus, *greatest of all prophets*, the Messiah in whom all your prophecies have been fulfilled, who represents God's new covenant with man." And because they refused, they were hated and spurned.

From endeavoring to pattern his religion as closely as possible after the Jewish example, he now in sullen resentment sought by arbitrary changes to emphasize its divergencies. Instead of turning to Jerusalem in prayer, Mahometans were told to turn to Mecca. He changed the Jewish Yom Kippur (Ashura), which he had adopted, for the holy month of Ramadhan. He altered the Sabbath from Saturday to Friday. Here again was a parallel experience with Christianity, which after three hundred years changed the Sabbath to Sunday and rearranged its Calendar to make Easter independent of Passover. Then like Christianity, too, he inserted in his Scripture—the Koran—unkind things and calumnies about the Jews. Yet, on the whole, the Koran holds up many Bible characters as exemplars.

There was a third parallel between these two daughters of Judaism. Just as Christianity to win the

heathen to the fold accepted into its theology many heathen rites and even beliefs, so now Mahomet to win the allegiance of the heathen Arabs, conceded to many of their most cherished traditions. The Kaaba Stone—an idol—was to be still reverently regarded in the new Faith. Lastly, it also claimed to be the one true universal Faith.

Mahomet's conception of the future life was not as spiritual as that of Jews or Christians. In offering grosser pleasure in the realms beyond, he unconsciously gratified the expectations of grosser natures.

Let us hasten over the sad conflicts between Mahomet and the Jews—his wars against their powerful chieftaincies, until he had succeeded in crippling their once mighty clans. The "Battle of the Foss," 627, is one of the unfortunate blots on the reputation of this really great man. Seven hundred Jews were gathered in the market-place and offered the alternative of "the Koran or the sword." But the Jews had been innured to martyrdom. There was no hesitancy in their choice. The grim warrior prophet carried out his savage threat against them. They were all slain and the surviving women were sold.

All through Arabia this religious crusade was waged against them. Thus fell the city of Chaibar, but no such ruthless massacre was repeated. Many of the defeated Jews were even left in possession of their lands. They continued their losing fight but little longer against the triumphant advance of Mahomet. By the year 628 all the Jewish tribes had lost their independence; the sword was taken from them. So

that era of arms and chivalry was now closed for the Jews of Arabia.

One Jewish woman, Safir, whom Mahomet had seized as a concubine, tried to be a Judith to her people and attempted to poison Mahomet. The dish was hardly tasted by him, so the plot failed and she paid with her life for her daring.

Mahomet must be studied from the political side as founder of a great State, as well as from the religious side as founder of a great religion. Indeed, he was a greater statesman than prophet. His followers believed in him intensely and were united to him by ties that death could no longer break. His fiery words embodied in the Koran became their inspired Scripture. With his name upon their lips, the great watchword, "Allah is God and Mahomet is his Prophet," these fearless warriors carried all before them. Monotheism had grown a great power in half a century, a power that had come to stay. Islam is accepted by nearly two hundred million souls to-day. Here was surely a great message—lifting the Arab from the slough. We see here, as in the rise of Christianity, the hand of Providence bringing light to the Gentiles.

Under Mahomet's successor, Abu Bekr, there was a momentary falling-off, but the movement rallied under the leadership of Omar, who followed the master's policy of spreading the new Faith by conquest. At the head of the Mosque was now an Emperor—a Caliph. Not so many years after Mahomet's death, not only was most of Arabia Moslem, but the sway of

Islam had reached Persia, conquered the land and superseded the religion of Zoroaster. Syria and Egypt were next wrested from the Byzantian or Eastern Roman Empire. Palestine had been taken from Persia in 628 only to be lost again in 638, and in both wars the long-suffering Jews had looked to the incoming enemies as deliverers.

What many changes had Jerusalem seen! When the Jewish Temple was destroyed, it became a heathen capital—Aelia Capitolina, adorned with a heathen shrine. In its Christian era it became a bishopric. Under the Mahometans a mosque held the place of honor. Such it remains to-day.

As in the spread of Christianity in Europe, so Islam was accepted, not by individuals, but by whole nations. Somewhat intolerant at first against opposing creeds—some of the Musselmen were fanatics—it became later renowned for its breadth and enlightenment. Very soon the Jews found the Mahometans their friends, against whom they had nought to fear. Jewish poets began to hail their advent. Even in Babylonia the Moslem sway was more liberal than had been that of the Magi in the latter years. The Resh Gelutha was given even heartier endorsement and was treated as a prince by the government, with his civil and judicial powers increased, making the Jewish community in Babylonia almost a State in itself. Its academies at Sora and Pumbeditha were continued without a break and the heads of the former called GAONIM (Illustrious) had also certain judicial powers and took equal rank with the Resh Gelutha. The Jews became loyal subjects of

the Mahometan rulers, and when Caliph Ali's successor was deposed by a rival house (for the Mahometans had also now split into two wings), the Jews came gallantly to his support. Here and there Moslem law in its freshest and noblest expression reacted favorably even on Jewish law. It will be borne in mind that the Jews in all their past experience were necessarily influenced to a degree by their environment, while remaining loyal in all essentials to the traditional conception of Jewish life.

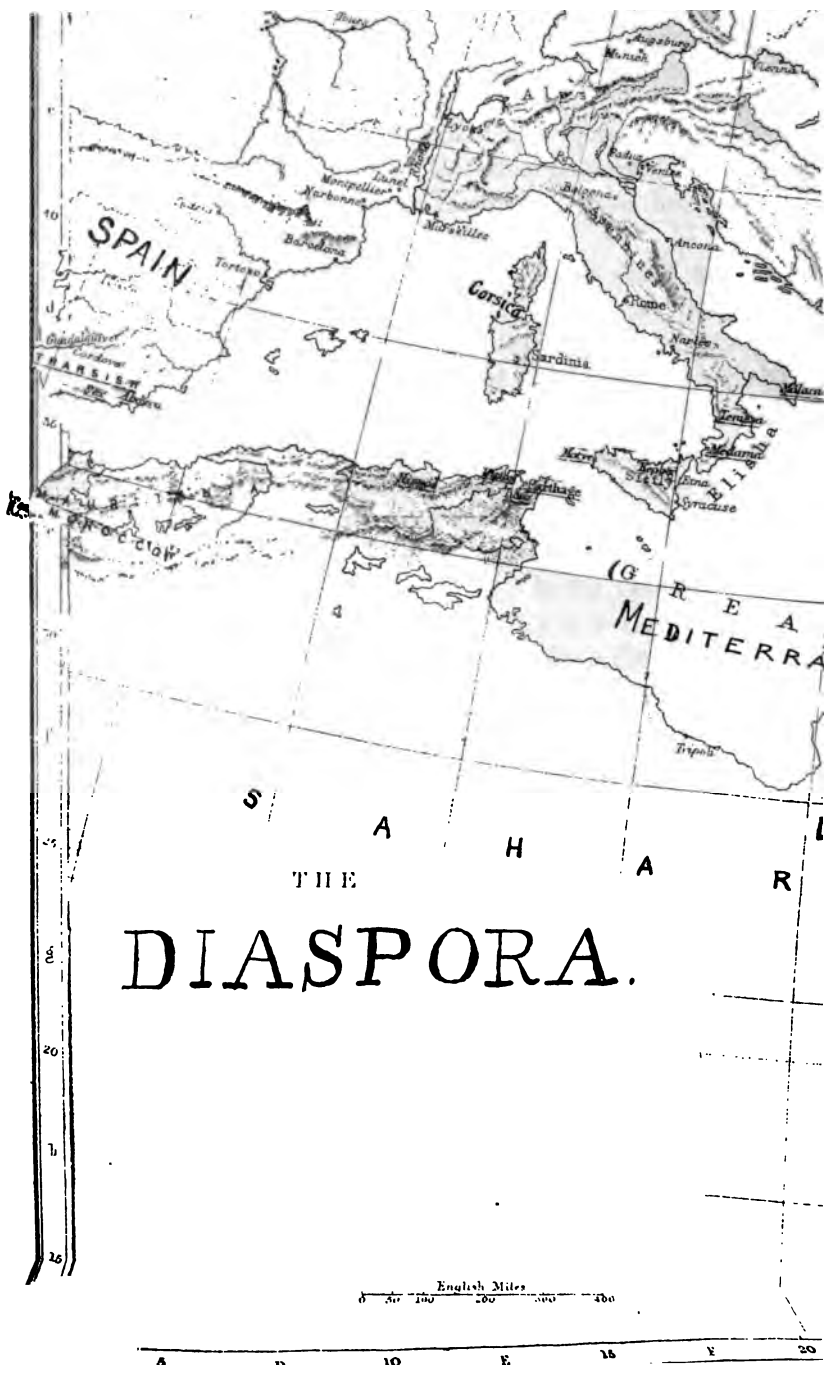
The ceremony of the inauguration of a Resh Gelutha was henceforth more impressive than ever. There was quite a little court about him. Likewise the official organization of the two Academies was very elaborate, with their President, Chief Judge, Assembly of Teachers or Senate, and their Greater and Lesser Sanhedrin. The administration left its lasting impress on all Jewish communities. All looked now to Babylonia as their religious centre and gladly sent contributions toward its maintenance. Its prestige steadily grew with the extension of Mahometan sway.

It was the spread of this great power that was to bring relief to the Jews of Spain, persecuted almost unto death. Verily the Moslem was unto them as a savior—for his arrival brought liberty, light and peace. After having subjected a large part of Asia, its sway spread unresistingly eastward. All the north coast of Africa was soon under both its temporal and spiritual control. Christendom was alarmed at the rise of this new star, and the checking of the advancing hosts

from making further inroad into Europe became now the first duty of every Christian monarch. Any warrior who could throw them back from his country's border at once sprang into fame.

In the meantime, however, none could withstand them. Nearer and nearer they approached the borders of Spain. The outrageously treated Jews awaited their arrival as any besieged city at the mercy of a relentless foe awaits the coming of its army of release. Already across the narrow Straits of Gibraltar on the African side, they were making common cause with the Moslems and were prepared for the invasion from Africa to Europe.

The destined hour arrived. In the year 711 a great battle was fought at Xeres, in which the last Visigothic king fell before the army of Tariik. City after city—Cordova, Granada, Malaga, Toledo—fell before them, the Jews rendering valuable aid from within. The Mahometans found they could not entrust their conquered towns into more faithful hands than these Jewish allies. Thus the Jews were raised at once from their degradation and thralldom to liberty and prestige. A new light had dawned, and under the broad and cultured regime of the Moors, as these Western Mahometans were called, a Golden Age was now to dawn for the Jews of Spain.



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